

AMBROSIO JOSE GONZALES:
A CUBAN CONFEDERATE COLONEL



DISSERTATION

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PREFACE

While reading a book on the American Civil War in the summer of 1991, I learned that a Cuban compatriot, Ambrosio José Gonzales, had been a Confederate colonel and chief of artillery of the Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. It made me remember a popular Cuban saying: "Cubans are like white rice: they mix with everything." My extensive collection of Cuban history books only had a handful of brief references about Gonzales, including one indicating that he had been a Cuban revolutionary general and the first Cuban to shed his blood for the independence of his homeland. This further aroused my curiosity and I consulted my friend in Miami, Florida, the prolific ninety-year-old Cuban historian Herminio Portell Vilá, who directed me to his three volume biography of General Narciso López. Portell Vilá mentioned that the sons of Gonzales had founded *The State* newspaper in Columbia, South Carolina. Unfortunately, Portell Vilá passed away in January 1992 and I never had the chance to discuss with him the discrepancies I found in his work.

When I telephoned *The State* newspaper, I was referred to the charming Carol Moore, executive secretary to Page Morris, the executive vice-president. After explaining my research project, she mailed me a copy of S. L. Latimer, Jr.'s *The Story of the State and the Gonzales Brothers* (1970), which contained a biographical chapter on General Ambrosio José Gonzales. Moore also mentioned that her boss was related to Gonzales and had named his son Ambrose Gonzales Morris, and that descendant Mary Hampton Finlay had inherited the family's antebellum Oak Lawn plantation. Mrs. Finlay, the wife of former Columbia Mayor Kirkland Finlay, gave me permission to visit Oak Lawn and stated that Ann Fripp Hampton was the family genealogist and that general's great-great grandson, Doctor Ambrose Gonzales Hampton, lived

in town. Mrs. Hampton sent me a good amount of biographical data on Gonzales, his sons and their father-in-law, the Honorable William Elliott. During a lengthy telephone conversation with the amiable Doctor Hampton, I learned that he possessed an oil painting of Gonzales in Confederate uniform and that he had been the physician of his great-aunt, Harriett R. E. Gonzales, the general's youngest daughter, who resided at Oak Lawn until her death in 1957. He also mentioned that a biography of Narciso Gener Gonzales, the general's son, entitled *Stormy Petrel*, had been written by Lewis Pinckney Jones.

In the fall of 1991, after reading *Stormy Petrel*, I telephoned Professor Jones to inquire if he knew the location of Social Hall plantation, mentioned in his book as the Gonzales residence during Reconstruction. None of the Gonzales descendants had heard of it and Jones sent me a copy of a road map of Colleton County, South Carolina, and indicated that Social Hall had been somewhere south of Green Pond, between the Combahee and the Ashepoo Rivers. A number of plantations appeared on the map in that area but the closest one to Social Hall Creek was Airy Hall plantation. H. L. "Buck" Limehouse, owner of Airy Hall, informed me on the telephone that Ambrose Gonzales was on the title chain of his property, and after a long conversation about the Civil War, invited me to stay a weekend at the plantation. A call to the South Caroliniana Library at the University of South Carolina in Columbia revealed that their manuscript collection contained some Gonzales letters.

I decided to spend a three-week Christmas vacation in South Carolina doing research on Gonzales. After meeting Dr. Hampton, I went to the South Caroliniana Library, where a staff member indicated that five boxes of uncatalogued Gonzales family documents had been left on deposit there twenty-five years earlier by descendant Cecilia McMaster. I made copies of

numerous letters, land deeds, the general's Cuban passport and a map he had drawn of the boundaries of Social Hall plantation. Dr. Hampton was thrilled with this discovery and expressed his concern of how the general had been neglected and misrepresented in historical accounts. He encouraged my idea of writing a biography and offered accommodations in his lake-side mansion and in his home on Tradd Street in Charleston, where I spent months doing research. As my work expanded, Dr. Hampton generously financed my research trips to the National Archives in Washington, D.C., to New York and to New Orleans. There were no strings attached, instead, he was always there to provide encouragement and was always fascinated with every significant piece of evidence I uncovered. In Charleston, Dr. Hampton introduced me to Peter Manigault, chairman of the board of the *News and Courier*, whose great grand-uncle, Confederate Major Edward Manigault, had served under Colonel Gonzales during the defense of Charleston. Although the Edward Manigault diary has been published, I am grateful to Peter for having let me work with the original.

I then headed for the South Carolina Low Country determined to find Social Hall plantation. "Buck" Limehouse and his son Chip studied the 1872 sketch drawn by Gonzales and then laid out on a table a large Colleton County map that hung on their wall. The nineteenth-century map perfectly matched the modern property boundaries and we determined that Social Hall plantation was the neighboring Ashepoo plantation, owned by the late Gaylord Donnelley. An examination of the Airy Hall plantation title chain revealed that the general's son, Ambrose Gonzales, had bought the property in 1911 and sold it five years later. Chip Limehouse provided a tour of Social Hall, and we discovered in the high pine area, thirty-eight feet above sea level, the exact location where the Gonzales residence had existed.

I then went to visit the Honey Hill battlefield, where Gonzales had commanded the artillery during a battle that defeated a Union force four times superior in number. Gregory Lane, a Civil War buff and metal detector hobbyist from Yemassee, provided a tour of the area in his pickup truck, that has a "C.S.A." license plate. He showed me the Union landing site, the trenches where the first skirmish occurred and the Honey Hill earthwork fortification in a desolate wooded area. In nearby Beaufort, South Carolina, I met Professor Stephen R. Wise, director of the Parris Island Museum, who treated me to lunch at the Anchorage House, the former home of William Elliott. Wise enthusiastically became part of a growing group of scholars with whom I began exchanging data on Gonzales and the Civil War.

This circle soon included Professor Robert E. May of Purdue University, a noted filibuster era historian, whose biography of antebellum Mississippi Governor John A. Quitman contained various references to Gonzales. Following a lengthy, instructive and friendly telephone chat, May and I began exchanging data on Gonzales and the Cuban filibuster movement. After two years of further telephone calls and correspondence, May agreed to serve on my dissertation committee. Another very helpful scholar was Dr. Lynda L. Crist, editor of the Jefferson Davis Papers at Rice University, who provided rare citations of letters between Davis and Gonzales.

After amassing a large amount of Gonzales material, the last piece to fit into the puzzle was the location of his grave. Newspaper accounts indicated that he was buried in Woodlawn Cemetery in the Bronx. The name was familiar: my great-aunt Margot González-Abreu had been interred there a decade earlier. The cemetery office pointed to the location of the Gonzales plot on a hillside parallel to 233 Street. On my way there, I wondered if his tombstone contained information I did not have. To my surprise, Gonzales lay in an unmarked grave. To mark the spot

I planted chrysanthemums and displayed three small flags: Cuban, American and Confederate. Standing there, I thought of the many Cuban patriots who fought for Cuban liberty and freedom, from 1850 right up to the present Communist tyranny, some of whom are also in unmarked graves. Prior to leaving, I snapped a military salute, and before lowering my hand, a gust made the flags flutter.

Since Gonzales was such a prolific writer, I found many of his letters in depositories throughout the United States. My investigations have left me indebted in gratitude to a number of people, especially William Lind and Michael Meier of the National Archive in Washington, D.C.; Chief Ranger Ann Ragan Childress and Historian Rick Hatcher of Fort Sumter National Monument; the staff of the South Carolina Historical Society in Charleston; R. Brien Varnado, assistant director of the Charleston Museum; the staffs of the Caroliniana Library and the South Carolina Department of Archives and History in Columbia; the staffs of the Special Collections Department of the Duke University Library and the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Past Grand Master J. Roy Crowther, Grand Historian of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Florida; Reverend Bruce Forbes, of St. Bartholomew's Episcopal Church, New York City, where Gonzales was a choir member in 1870; Reverend Rick Tomlinson, of St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Baltimore, where Gonzales was a choir member in 1872; F. Gemer Ranney, Historiographer and Archivist of the Episcopalian Diocese of Maryland; Paul Davies, a Falls Church, Virginia, antique gun collector, owner of a Le Mat revolver and various Maynard rifles, of which Gonzales was a sales agent; Louise Bailey, a local historian in Flat Rock, North Carolina, where Gonzales spent the summers at the home of his in-laws; Librarian John H. Christian, Bryan-Lang Historical Library in Woodbine, Georgia;

Civil War reenactors Gary and Sherry Belk of Kentucky; and Ralph and Maria Galliano, for their friendship, accommodations and exquisite Italian meals when I visited Washington, D.C.

Finally, this work would not have been possible without the guidance, encouragement and assistance of my dissertation committee, chaired by Professor John C. Super, with the collaboration of History Department Chair Ronald Lewis, and professors Robert E. May, John McKivigan and Robert Blobaum, who provided excellent critiques and an outstanding discussion during my memorable three-hour defense.

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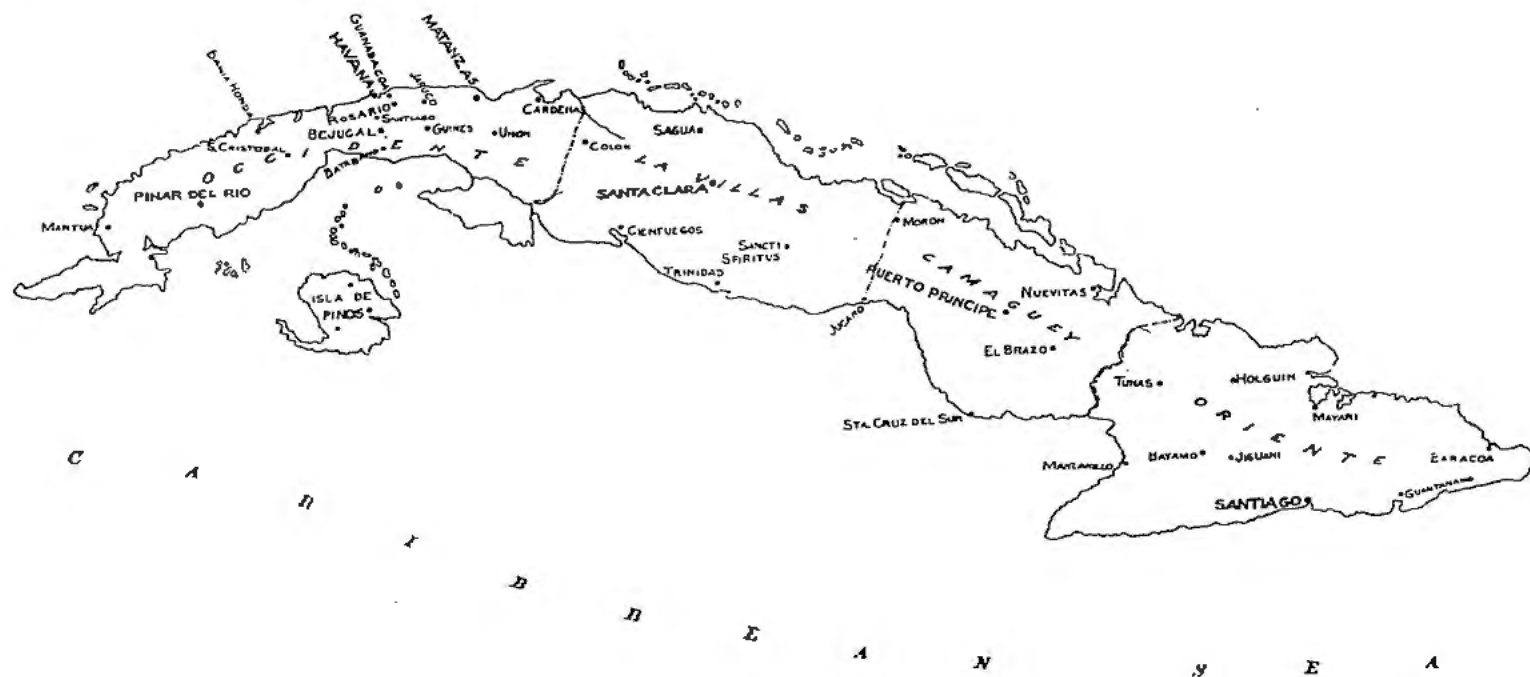
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Cuban Independence General Ambrosio José Gonzales

Q **A**

MAP OF CUBA



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

As the American Civil War entered its second year, the *Charleston Courier* announced: "Lieutenant-Colonel A. J. Gonzales.--No citizen, native or adopted, has labored more zealously, efficiently, and disinterestedly for South Carolina since the opening of the war, than General A. J. Gonzales, as he is known to his friends." Thirty years later, Cuban independence leader José Martí wrote in his New York emigré newspaper *Patria*: "General Ambrosio José Gonzales was the first Cuban wounded in combat for the liberty of Cuba." In spite of these claims, the life and times of General Gonzales, one of the most important Cuban filibuster expeditionaries of the 1850s and a significant Confederate artillery officer, lacks a complete biographical interpretation. Gonzales has often been omitted from accounts of the attack on Fort Sumter, the siege of Charleston and the Battle of Honey Hill, even though he played a prominent role in those events. This historical slight is consistent with Gonzales' life. His career was blighted by bad luck and tragedy and his finances were on a perpetual roller coaster ride.

Born in Cuba in 1818 to an aristocratic family, Gonzales went to school in New York during the Jacksonian era, where he was greatly influenced by American institutions and Democratic politics. He was multilingual and multicultural and made a smooth transition between Cuban and American societies, without denying his heritage. After graduating with a law degree from the University of Havana, he forsook on principle a lucrative career for that of a college teacher after observing corruption in Spain's colonial judicial system in Cuba. This righteousness inspired him to fight for lost causes. At a time when freemasons were persecuted by the Spanish Catholic Crown, he joined the fraternity. Freemasons would figure prominently throughout his

life and provide aid and support. In 1848, his patriotic anxieties and masonic connections brought Gonzales into a conspiracy, patterned on the Texas model, to annex Cuba to the United States. Though he lacked military expertise, Gonzales became adjutant general to revolutionary leader Narciso López, and served as his principal translator. The following year they established headquarters in Washington, D.C., and sought assistance from American politicians for two expeditions that invaded Cuba. The first expedition of some six hundred American volunteers landed in the city of Cárdenas on 19 May 1850. Gonzales, described as the "soul" of the movement, was wounded during the initial skirmish, an event that gave him immortality as the first Cuban to shed his blood for his country's independence. After taking Cárdenas, the filibusters were quickly routed back to the United States, where Gonzales and other conspirators were arrested by the federal government for violation of the 1818 Neutrality Law. The three trials that followed in New Orleans ended in hung juries. The first jury voted eight-to-four for conviction, the second jury was equally divided on the verdict, and the last jury voted eleven-to-one for acquittal. Chester Stanley Urban, in both a 1938 Master's Thesis and a subsequent article, analyzed these trials. Urban gave considerable attention to public opinion and press reactions to the trials, but only dedicated ten of the seventy-three pages of his article to the actual trial, and omitted consideration of the jury composition.¹ In this dissertation, I have scrutinized the background of the jurors in all three trials to indicate how American sectionalism seems to have influenced the verdicts.

Before the trials even concluded, Gonzales became a leading organizer in Georgia for the frustrated April 1851 *Cleopatra* filibuster expedition. This endeavor had collected at least two thousand men, firearms for each individual, ten artillery pieces, and three steamers, that were to

sail from New York, Georgia, Florida and Louisiana to invade Cuba. The federal authorities disbanded the enterprise with the help of a paid informant of the Spanish Consul in New York. Gonzales got Governor George W. Towns to donate state militia artillery, firearms and accoutrements, raised thousands of dollars and hundreds of volunteers. Historians have generally overlooked his activities and focused instead on John O'Sullivan and the New York participants of the *Cleopatra* affair who were detained, while Gonzales went underground for more than six months evading an arrest warrant issued by President Fillmore. Gonzales eventually surrendered in Savannah, but no charges were filed against him after he was subjected to a deposition. The following year, he wrote a political pamphlet, which was widely disseminated among sympathetic politicians, promoting Cuban annexation to the United States. These intrigues brought Gonzales into close contact with influential Southern politicians, including Jefferson Davis, John C. Calhoun, John A. Quitman, Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, Pierre Soulé, John Slidell, James Chesnut, Jr., Louis T. Wigfall, Francis W. Pickens, James Henry Hammond, Stephen Mallory, Robert Toombs and John Henderson. The Cuban annexation movement played an important role in the causation of the American Civil War. Since Cuba was an agricultural slave society, its annexation was spurned by the North and coveted by the South; Northerners considered the filibusters part of a slave power conspiracy to expand their dominions into the Caribbean Basin, and Southerners responded to this opposition in Congress with increasing demands for secession.

Gonzales has been described as "perhaps the earliest volunteer" to the Confederate cause, and "among the last in service--three weeks after Appomattox."¹² He had married into an aristocratic South Carolina family in 1856, and his sense of duty and obligation to his adopted state provided an overt motivation for his Confederate service. Gonzales also longed to achieve

the rank of general on the battlefield, since his title of Cuban revolutionary general derived from an adjutant general commission. Gonzales served in the Civil War under a number of generals, including his former schoolmate Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard, Robert E. Lee, John Pemberton, Samuel Jones, William Hardee and Joseph E. Johnston. Gonzales tried to attain a generalship, but his letter of 10 October 1861 to the susceptible Jefferson Davis requesting promotion was misinterpreted, at the same time that the Confederate president was publicly feuding with generals Beauregard and Gustavus W. Smith, who were close friends of Gonzales. No matter how much Gonzales later tried to appease Davis, it had no effect on the president, who usually held in contempt those who disagreed with him. Gonzales is probably the only Confederate officer whose recommendation to brigadier general was denied six times.

Early in the war, Gonzales invented a "siege train" flying artillery to quickly mobilize heavy guns to enemy disembarkment positions. During the defense of Charleston against repeated Union encroachments, Gonzales transferred his artillery headquarters to the forward positions on James Island during six months, and devised planting land mines in the gorge of Battery Wagner, which helped impede a now famous Union attack there spearheaded by the African-American 54th Massachusetts Regiment. After the charge was repulsed with hand-to-hand combat, Gonzales recommended that sixty double-barrelled shotguns be sent to Battery Wagner for its defense. These weapons would have a lethal effect at close combat range.

Historians have repeatedly failed to give proper credit to Gonzales for strengthening Battery Wagner and his other military contributions. This is partly because many Civil War historians have relied heavily on the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, published by the federal government at the turn of the century, which omitted a massive amount of data taken

from Record Group 109, of the War Department Collection of Confederate Records, at the National Archives. Another problem with the *O.R.* is that sometimes a letter is published but not the endorsements or recommendations added to it. That is why General John Pemberton's biographer, citing the *O.R.*, mentioned that Pemberton had recommended Gonzales for promotion to brigadier general in February 1865 but that the war ended before it could be made official.³ The recommendations appended to the original letter in R.G. 109 show that the request was disapproved before the end of the month. At times, there are no apparent explanations for the exclusion of Gonzales from historical accounts. For example, during the battle of Honey Hill, Gonzales commanded the artillery which enabled 1,200 Confederates to defeat 5,000 federals. Yet, a Master's Thesis on the battle of Honey Hill and a recent article on the subject omit Gonzales, even though he is mentioned in the Confederate battle reports cited by the author.⁴ After the war, Jefferson Davis, who rarely admitted his errors, realized he had been wrong about Gonzales, and publicly praised him as "A soldier under two flags but one cause: that of community independence."⁵

The role that Gonzales played in filibustering and the Civil War demands the attention of scholars. The sectional, political and diplomatic implications of filibuster activities have been studied by a number of scholars in the United States and Cuba. The first significant work was published in Havana in 1900 by José Ignacio Rodríguez, who claimed in the introduction that he would not take sides on the annexation issue, and stated that he merely wanted to present the facts and let the reader arrive at his own logical conclusions.⁶ His work was hardly impartial. It was published at a pivotal time in Cuban history, as the island was under United States military occupation after the end of the Spanish-American War in August 1898, and had not decided yet

on a form of government. Rodríguez was born in Cuba in 1831 and received a law degree from the University of Havana. He went into exile in the United States in 1869, settled in Washington, D.C., studied law under Caleb Cushing, and was admitted to the bar. Rodríguez became an American citizen and represented the United States State Department as secretary of the International American Conference and secretary of the International American Monetary Commission.⁷ He was a personal friend of Ambrosio José Gonzales, notarized his legal documents and helped him find government employment. Rodríguez died in Washington, D.C. in 1907. Cuban historian Ramiro Guerra correctly explained that Rodríguez "became convinced that Cuba's future lay in annexation to the United States. He devoted himself to the defense and propagation of those ideas in the last twenty-seven years of his life, even when annexation had ceased to be a solution linked to the question of African slavery and favored by the Southern States."⁸ This annexationism influenced his interpretations.

In 1901, Vidal Morales Morales (1848-1904), director of the Cuban National Archive and founder of its *Boletín*, published a three-volume history of the Cuban independence revolution, which was reedited with a prologue in 1931.⁹ It is basically a work of reference, containing documents and biographies, in which López and the filibusters are portrayed as attempting to liberate Cuba from oppressive Spanish colonialism. A new generation of Cuban historians appeared after the birth of the Cuban Republic in 1902. They generally tended to be nationalistic and anti-imperialist, and regarded the Platt Amendment imposed by the United States on the Cuban Constitution as an intrusion on their nation's sovereignty. The amendment, approved by a margin of one in the Cuban Constitutional Assembly, allowed the United States to intervene in the island's affairs whenever it deemed necessary, until it was abrogated in 1934. These Cuban

historians exalted the independence struggle but were divided over the role played by Narciso López and Ambrosio José Gonzales during the first armed attempt to free Cuba from Spain in 1850-1851.

López had been generally regarded as an annexationist until Herminio Portell Vilá (1901-1992) began publishing his three-volume biography in 1930, which was completed in 1958. Portell Vilá set out to prove that López wanted "to take advantage of the aid of North American mercenaries with vague promises, but to procure by all means the establishment of a Cuban Republic, free and independent."¹⁰ This thesis had its origin in the 1870s with Cirilo Villaverde, a former secretary to López, who wanted to redeem his image as an independence leader at a time when Cubans were involved in the Ten Years War of Independence.

This work seeks to improve on Portell Vilá's analysis of Cuban filibustering, who cites a massive amount of Cuban and American primary sources and incorporates large portions of original documents within its narrative. Many of Portell Vilá's Cuban sources are now unavailable,¹¹ and Portell Vilá frequently lamented the destruction of his historical archive by the Castro dictatorship after he went into exile. Portell Vilá relied largely on the unpublished Villaverde biography of López and Villaverde's personal diary. I found a few errors in dates and important omissions in the entries cited, leading me to believe that the diary was rewritten by Villaverde to justify his own actions and to revise the previous image of López as an annexationist. Although Portell Vilá pointed to one major omission, he never questioned the originality of the diary, which he bought from Villaverde's son. In spite of his remarkably exhaustive research, Portell Vilá overlooked important newspaper articles, which announced López's arrival in the United States, his declared intention to become an American citizen and

a Gonzales newspaper account of the 1851 filibuster events.¹² He also erroneously guessed at the identity of filibuster activists. Portell Vilá also had difficulty dealing with López's view of slavery. He claimed that López wanted to abolish slavery in Cuba, but overlooked how his provisional constitution failed to mention this and instead vowed to respect all private property, which included slaves. López had as a constant companion a mulatto "servant," a nineteenth century euphemism for slave, whom Portell Vilá claimed was probably an illegitimate son. While constantly hammering away at the theme that López was not an annexationist and instead wanted to establish an independent republic, Portell Vilá neglected considering seriously whether López intended to follow the Texas blueprint for annexation: attaining independence and then calling for statehood. López was ambiguous about his post-independence plans. He was impetuous and fanatical in his desire to overthrow the Cuban colonial regime, which had stripped him of his general's rank and his wealth. In contrast, Gonzales, his second-in-command, frequently called in public for the annexation of Cuba to the United States. Portell Vilá's attitude toward Gonzales changed during the course of his work. In the last volume he unquestioningly abided by the personal criticism Villaverde threw at Gonzales, even though there was an underlying animosity between them, which likely colored Villaverde's presentation of Gonzales: Gonzales favored slavery as an economic necessity and militarily fought for Cuban independence; Villaverde was the author of an anti-slavery novel and limited himself to the conspiratorial and propaganda aspects of the separatist movement, without joining the armed struggle. It is no wonder that Villaverde was critical of Gonzales. Portell Vilá did not even get everything right about John A. Quitman, who took over the filibuster leadership after the death of López. Portell Vilá interpreted Quitman as a despicable character, but did not cite the Quitman papers which are in various

repositories throughout the United States.

Diego González published an excellent "Documented History of the Revolutionary Movements for the Independence of Cuba from 1852 to 1867," in two volumes, in Havana in 1939. Its focus on the filibusters was similar to that of Morales, but included a far greater amount of rare documents from the Cuban National Archives.¹³ Recent Cuban history of the filibuster movement is weak, because such works rarely include notes or consult new sources. López is portrayed as a "faithful servant of the slave masters in the United States," without further corroboration.¹⁴ Works produced under the Castro regime seem more concerned with promoting Castro's politics and foreign policy than with getting at the truth. Thus one historian of the Cuban government points out that had the island become a state of the Union in the 1850s, "with all assurance Cubans would have been wiped off the face of the earth" during the Civil War by a campaign similar to General William T. Sherman's march to the sea.¹⁵ These Communist writers indicate that the "CIA-sponsored" Cuban "counterrevolutionaries of today, are the latest representation of the liquidated annexationism."¹⁶ Manuel Moreno Friginals, a Cuban Communist historian, recently admitted that due to "dogmatic reasons," the Castro government during the last thirty-five years has omitted "fundamental facts of Cuban history."¹⁷ Not all misleading recent accounts of Cuba filibustering have emanated from the island. A new Spanish account has twisted American history out of context by claiming that President Zachary Taylor was "an absolute liberal who favored that Cuba join to reinforce the slave bloc of the southern states of the Union."¹⁸ Taylor, who gave a high priority to suppressing the López expeditions, can hardly be called a "liberal." Czech historian Josef Opatrný used eight Cuban manuscript sources, and only one limited American collection, for his recently published *U.S. Expansionism*

and *Cuban Annexationism in the 1850s*. Although this book contains a good historiographical introduction, it lacks an index, is badly translated, has many misspellings and most importantly, contains a disturbing number of factual errors concerning dates, names, and events.¹⁹

What can be said of prior works on Cuban filibustering published in the United States? The first study to appear in the United States on the Cuban annexation movement was Anderson C. Quisenberry's *Lopez's Expeditions to Cuba 1850-1851* in 1906. This account was based mostly on two previous filibuster memoirs, Richardson Hardy's *The History and Adventures of the Cuban Expedition*, and O.D.D.O.'s *History of the Late Expedition to Cuba*. Quisenberry's work was a publication of the Filson Club in Louisville, Kentucky, and the author focused mainly on the participation of the Kentuckians. Quisenberry omitted notes and was not careful in his research. Louisiana state Representative Laurent J. Sigur is erroneously described as "an exiled Cuban patriot"²⁰ and the 1849 meetings between Gonzales and López with Jefferson Davis and subsequently with Robert E. Lee are dated in 1851.²¹

Nine years later, Robert G. Caldwell published a more detailed analysis, *The Lopez Expeditions to Cuba 1848-1851*, from an earlier Princeton University Ph.D. dissertation.²² Caldwell used Cuban and American primary sources to provide an insight into how the annexation movement influenced the sectional crisis. Unfortunately, Caldwell's work is brief in comparison to others and focuses too narrowly on the political and economic situation in both countries. Caldwell's details about the actual composition and events of the expeditions were mostly limited to the contemporary accounts of O.D.D.O. and Hardy. In 1948, Basil Rauch pursued the diplomatic angle of the Cuban filibuster story, in *American Interest in Cuba: 1848-1855*. He used a large amount of exclusively American primary sources, with the exception of

the Cuban National Archives Bulletin. Accounts of the 1850 Cárdenas expedition came mostly from the diplomatic correspondence between the United States and Spain.

Twenty-five years later, Robert E. May published *The Southern Dream of a Caribbean Empire: 1854-1861*, providing an analysis of the diplomatic and sectional implications in the United States of the Cuban and Nicaraguan filibuster movements. May relied on a tremendous amount of American primary sources and exhaustive notes, but a lack of Spanish-language documentation limited his book to one side of the issue. His later excellent biography of Mississippi Governor John A. Quitman offered a good insight into Quitman's motivations and role in Cuban filibusterism, but overlooked a number of documents in Spanish in the Quitman papers that I have used to further link Quitman and the conspirators on the island.²³ In 1980, Charles H. Brown published *Agents of Manifest Destiny: The Lives and Times of the Filibusters*, immediately after the triumph of the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua. Most of this book deals with William Walker's Nicaraguan expeditions. He used few new primary sources on Cuban filibusters and he repeated some errors found in previous secondary works.²⁴

I have attempted to go beyond all prior works on Cuban filibustering by analyzing aspects that have been overlooked or slightly investigated, such as the link between Southern slave traders and the Cuban annexation movement. Filibuster conspirators left few records of their activities or movements because they were engaged in an enterprise that violated the United States Neutrality Law. This dissertation cites hotel registry and ship passenger lists to provide accurate data on individuals and to reveal the role of some activists, such as dentist George A. Gardiner, who have been omitted by previous historians. I also analyzed the social background of the filibusters and have compiled the largest partial list available with the names of 181 of the

six hundred participants in the Cárdenas expedition.

The role of freemasonry in the filibuster movement, previously indicated by scant reference, is reviewed here in detail. Proceedings from Grand Lodges with membership rosters are used to link the fraternity to these activities. Freemasonry bonded Northern and Southern politicians and generals on behalf of Cuban annexation. Northern supporters included Caleb Cushing, Stephen A. Douglas, Daniel S. Dickinson, Mansfield Lovell and William J. Worth. Southern masonic backers included John A. Quitman, Mirabeau Lamar, Robert Toombs, Pierre Soulé, Gustavus W. Smith and John Henderson. The filibuster movement faced its stiffest opposition from avowed anti-Masons, including Presidents Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore, Secretary of State Daniel Webster, and New York *Tribune* Editor Horace Greeley.

Above all, the following work presents, for the first time, a thorough account of the life of Ambrosio José Gonzales. Little has been available about Gonzales, besides brief biographical sketches. The first two appeared in 1850 with the publication of Hardy's *The History and Adventures of the Cuban Expedition*, and O.D.D.O.'s *History of the Late Expedition to Cuba*. In December 1892, as Gonzales lay dying of progressive paralysis in the Home for Incurables in New York, José Martí's Cuban revolutionary newspaper *Patria*, printed a highly laudatory, two-page biography by Gonzalo de Quesada, erroneously portraying Gonzales as an "Abolitionist, like Lincoln."²⁵ Eight months later, when the General passed away, *The State* newspaper in Columbia, South Carolina, edited by his son Narciso Gener Gonzales, published a lengthy obituary. Yet, only one paragraph was dedicated to Gonzales' Confederate service, and the rest of the article dealt mostly with his struggle for Cuban independence.²⁶ In 1911, former Confederate cavalryman Ulysses R. Brooks devoted a sixteen-page chapter in his book *Stories*

of the Confederacy to Gonzales, which included eleven articles reprinted from Charleston newspapers mentioning the Cuban's Confederate role.²⁷

Cuban historian Emeterio S. Santovenia wrote a four-page biography of Gonzales in 1928 in *Huellas de Gloria*, taken mostly from the *Patria* article.²⁸ In 1944, Herminio Portell Vilá dedicated a fourteen-page chapter to Gonzales in his book *Vidas de la Unidad Americana*.²⁹ It included some errors such as the general's birth date, his mother's maiden name (which hispanics use as their second last name) and claimed that during the Civil War "Gonzalez [sic] fought from Virginia to Florida and also in Tennessee and Mississippi,"³⁰ when, in fact, Gonzales hardly left South Carolina and did not visit the two latter states during the conflict.

The next Gonzales biography to appear was a ten-page article in the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* in 1955 by professor Lewis Pinckney Jones,³¹ who said that this was a spinoff from his 1952 doctoral dissertation *Carolinians and Cubans: The Elliots and Gonzales, Their Work and Their Writings*,³² which was later published as *Stormy Petrel: N. G. Gonzales and His State*.³³ Jones largely omitted Gonzales' Confederate career. *The State* printed a two-column biography of General Gonzales in 1966 entitled "A Fighter For Freedom."³⁴ The following year, a brief rehash of Cuban historical accounts about Gonzales was published by Fermín Peraza Sarausa in his *Diccionario Biográfico Cubano*, a monumental task that he began in Cuba in 1951. He wrote this last volume while exiled in Florida. In 1970, S. L. Latimer, Jr., published *The Story of The State and the Gonzales Brothers*, where he reprinted the 1893 obituary dedicated to General Gonzales.³⁵

While Gonzales was a voluminous writer, as evidenced by his Confederate correspondence and his many letters scattered in more than twenty manuscript collections throughout the United

States and Cuba, he did not leave an autobiography. His only works in print are an 1853 sixteen-page pamphlet, *Manifesto on Cuban Affairs Addressed to the People of the United States*,³⁶ two lengthy 1884 articles in the New Orleans *Times Democrat*³⁷ describing his participation in the Cuban independence movement during 1848-1851, and the 1889 sixty-eight-page booklet *Heaven Revealed: A Series of Authentic Spirit-Messages, from a Wife to her Husband, Proving the Sublime Nature of True Spiritualism*, published twenty years after the tragic death of his wife.³⁸

This dissertation uses a wide variety of primary and secondary sources to bring Ambrosio José Gonzales into the historical record. It shows the influence Gonzales had on historical events during the Cuban filibuster movement, the American Civil War, the Reconstruction period in the South, and the vicissitudes of a Cuban expatriate in the United States during the late nineteenth century.

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CHAPTER II

THE REVOLUTIONARY REPUBLICAN

Ambrosio José Cándido González Ruffin was born in Matanzas, Cuba, on 3 October 1818, and twelve days later was baptized by a Roman Catholic priest in the city's San Carlos Cathedral. The godfather privilege was bestowed on his maternal grandfather.¹ His thirty-year-old father, Ambrosio José González Perdomo, from the village of Managua, province of Havana, had received a college education in the city of Havana. The paternal grandfather, José Antonio González, a native of Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Canary Islands, had emigrated to Cuba, where he married Rosalía Perdomo, from Santa María del Rosario, Havana province. González Perdomo had moved to Matanzas in 1810, where he was founder and director of the city's first learning institute, the San Carlos Perpetual Capitular School. Sixteen years later, he became the principal of the private Academy of Education.²

The twenty-nine-year-old educator married Cresencia Josefa Gertrudis Rufín de Torres on 1 January 1818. She was the daughter of Bernardino Rufín, from Havana, and Josefa María del Rosario de Torres, of a prominent Matanzas family. The Ruffin name was the Spanish derivative of her Ruffini grandparents, who had migrated to Cuba in the mid-eighteenth century from Finale, Italy. They were related to the renowned mathematician, author and physician Paul Ruffini, professor and president of the University of Modena and of the Italian Institute of Sciences.³ The Gonzalez name had the last letter permanently changed to an "s" after our subject moved as an adult to the United States.

After the birth of Ambrosio, his parents had three daughters: Gertrudis Dominga, in 1819, Isabel María, the following year, and Brígida de los Dolores, in 1823. Their father was also an

engineer, a sugar planter, and in 1829 founded the daily newspaper, *Diario de Matanzas*, which he published for two years.⁴ We can surmise that prior to this venture, his wife passed away, and young Ambrosio was sent to study in Europe in 1828. The following year he went to New York City to enroll in the French Institute on Bank Street, a semi-military academy run by the brothers Louis and Hyacinth Peuquet, two former officers in Napoleon Bonaparte's army. The elder Louis had been an artillery captain, and his body carried a bullet from the battle of Waterloo. Hyacinth had been a cavalry captain and was an excellent mathematician who thoroughly drilled his students in the study of fractions.⁵

Gonzales soon made friends with Louisiana classmate Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard, similar in age and social background.⁶ Among their other Cuban aristocratic classmates, Beauregard would later recall those of the Pizarro, Iznaga and León families of Havana and the children of the Gener and Ruiz families from Matanzas.⁷ The Peuquet brothers inflamed their pupils minds with glorious epics of courage, valor and honor. The children were fascinated with stories about the cavalry charges that Hyacinth led successfully at Austerlitz.⁸ Gonzales was especially impressed with the accounts of Louis, as he described how his army had crossed the Great St. Bernard Pass, between Switzerland and Italy, a previously unaccomplished feat. The French army had struggled to get their cannons through the frozen Alps. Trees were cut down to pave the way and the wood was used to make large sleds to carry the artillery across the ten-foot deep snow. This innovative feat in military history would later stimulate Gonzales into developing new tactics that he employed as a Confederate artillery officer.

While visiting his son in New York City, González Perdomo wed twenty-three-year-old Emilia Gauffreau Berault on 3 May 1830. The marriage was ratified in Matanzas the following

month.⁹ This union produced three sons: Próspero, Ignacio and Emilio. In January 1835, González Perdomo and his wife established the Our Lady of Guadalupe School in Matanzas, where they both taught, and she served as principal. He was also affiliated with the academic *Real Sociedad Patriótica*.¹⁰

After four years of schooling in New York, Ambrosio returned to Cuba with the highest class honors, "thoroughly Americanized," and instilled in the republican ideas of the Jacksonian era.¹¹ Fluent in Spanish, English, French and Italian, he enrolled in the University of Havana, receiving a law degree on 2 May 1839 at the age of twenty.¹² Gonzales soon became disgusted with the corruption of the Spanish colonial judiciary system and instead became a professor of mathematics, geography, Latin, and modern languages in the two royal colleges of Havana.¹³ His circle of friends included the American Consul in Havana, Nicholas Philip Trist, former Private Secretary to President Andrew Jackson, married to the granddaughter of Thomas Jefferson, under whom he had studied law.¹⁴

Gonzales became inconsolably distressed when his father suddenly died on 3 May 1845, his fifteenth wedding anniversary. He sought a change of scenery and spent the next two years travelling in Spain and the United States.¹⁵ Upon returning to Havana, Gonzales taught at the Carraguo School.¹⁶ He maintained cordial relations with the faculty of the La Empresa institute in his native Matanzas. It was directed by José Antonio Echeverría, and its faculty included novelist Cirilo Villaverde, author of the acclaimed antislavery novel *Cecilia Valdés*, and brothers Eusebio and Pedro José Guiteras.¹⁷ Other notable writers from Matanzas included Miguel Teurbe Tolón and José Elías Hernández, all of whom would prominently figure with Gonzales in the Cuban annexation movement.

The annexation of Cuba was first contemplated by President Thomas Jefferson as beneficial to the strategic and commercial interests of the United States after making the Louisiana Purchase. The Napoleonic invasion of the Iberian peninsula in 1808 gave Creoles throughout Latin America the opportunity of taking over the colonial governments, except in Cuba. This situation forced the Jefferson Administration to formulate an isolationist policy toward the island that would remain constant for the rest of the century. The United States did not mind if Cuba remained a colony of Spain but highly objected to its control by England or France.¹⁸

What sparked Cuban interest in annexation to the United States was the threat of abolition, which would have gravely affected the growing sugar economy of the island. The exiled Spanish government in Cádiz had debated the abolition issue in their Cortes in April 1811, but postponed final consideration. Two months later, the American consul in Havana, William Shaler, informed Secretary of State James Monroe that as a result, the Treasurer of the Royal Hacienda, José de Arango, had told him that a "great number of landed proprietors" had formed several separatist plans, but lacked the means to effect them. Arango stated that, "there is naturally but one course for us to take, which is to solicit an union with you, and become one of the Confederate States."¹⁹ He claimed that annexation would make the Cubans "rich and happy," and the United States would incalculably benefit its political importance and wealth. Arango requested material on the American form of government, and the consul provided a copy of "the Constitution of the United States and of the individual States with the journals of the old Congress."²⁰

Six months later, Shaler received an unsigned document in Spanish from the conspirators, regarding their insurrectional outlook. Spain had requested the assistance of Great Britain to

dominate their rebellious colonies, and the Cubans wondered how the United States would counteract against British provocations that would inevitably lead to war. In case of armed conflict, the Cubans believed that England would occupy the port of Havana and the rest of the island under the pretext of preventing an American invasion. As a result, the island would most likely become a British possession. The conspirators feared that if England, as an ally in peace time, "persecutes our commerce in Africa and tramples in that area our national economy...what would happen if they were owners of our Island?" The plotters wondered what guarantees could be given by the United States on their behalf, since the government seemed "too weak, and its Executive Power too restrictive" to provide assistance.²¹ The State Department stuck to its policy of non-intervention in Cuba and did not reply. As the conspirators had predicted, Havana became a base for the British during the War of 1812, and the weakness of the United States allowed British troops to burn Washington, D.C.

The Creoles were appeased in July 1812 with the arrival of the Constitution of 1812, promulgated by the Cortes in Cádiz, which had defied French occupation. Cuba was designated a province of Spain instead of a colony. All male Spaniards and Creoles over the age of twenty-five were allowed to vote for three representatives to the Cortes. Freedom of the press was granted and sweeping liberal changes were made in the administration of local government.²² French withdrawal from Iberia prompted the return of King Ferdinand VII in 1814, who soon decreed null and void the Constitution and all the legislation of the Cortes.

The termination of the War of 1812 ended British influence in Cuba and started a new era of closer relations with the United States.²³ Trade increased while a new generation of Cuban intellectuals were educated in the United States.²⁴ In 1820, a Spanish army rebellion led

by liberal freemason officers forced the Spanish crown to restore the Constitution of 1812, which also applied to Cuba. Two years later, Cuban desires for annexation to the United States were rekindled as Spain was torn by civil strife to restore Ferdinand VII's absolutist monarchy. After visiting Havana in July 1822, James Biddle, captain of the *Macedonia*, informed President James Monroe that a delegation of respectable and influential Cubans were on their way to seek an interview with him. They feared that if the foreseeable Iberian turmoil extended to the island, or a native revolutionary movement broke out, the conflict between the Creoles and the European Spaniards would "terminate in the destruction of both and the ascendancy of the blacks." Biddle told the president that "a connection with our government would be greatly preferred by both parties...." If refused, the Cubans would most likely ask for the protection of Great Britain.²⁵

According to the diary of Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, Cuban agent Bernabé Sánchez represented "a number of the principal inhabitants of the place, who have formed the plan of declaring the Island independent of Spain and are desirous of being admitted as a State into the American Union. The object of the mission of Mr. Sánchez is to inquire if the government of the United States will concur with them in that object. The plan is represented as already so far matured that they want nothing but the assurances of being seconded from this country to act immediately."²⁶ The Sánchez proposition was discussed in a Cabinet meeting on 27 September. Secretary of War John Calhoun expressed "a most ardent desire that the island of Cuba should become a part of the United States and says that Mr. Jefferson has the same." This would prevent the island from falling to Great Britain or being revolutionized by the blacks. Annexation might entail a war with England, for which Calhoun said they were not prepared, and he wanted to gain time by dissuading the Creoles from their plans and urging them to remain

under Spain. Adams suggested replying that "the Executive of the United States is not competent to promise them admission as a State of the Union, and that if it were, the proposal is of a nature which our relations of amity with Spain would not permit us to countenance...."²⁷ Four days later, President Monroe, abiding by the recommendations of his secretary of state, rejected the annexation request, but asked of Sánchez "to give information more explicit and precise of the authority by which he acted; whence it came, who were the persons connected in the project, how far was it matured, and what means and resources they had for accomplishing their purpose...."²⁸ Adams later wrote on 28 April 1823 to the new American Minister in Spain that,

annexation of Cuba to our federal republic will be indispensable to the continuance of the Union itself. It is obvious, however, that for this event we are not yet prepared....but there are laws of political as well as of physical gravitation and if an apple, severed by the tempest from its native tree, cannot choose but fall to the ground, Cuba, forcibly disjointed from its own unnatural connection with Spain and incapable of self support can gravitate only towards the North American Union, which by the same law of nature, cannot cast her off from its bosom.²⁹

Shunned by the United States, the Cuban conspirators, who were freemasons, created the clandestine independence movement *Soles y Rayos de Bolivar*. They sent a delegation to meet with Liberator Simón Bolívar in Colombia and with Mexican independence leaders, requesting help to overthrow the colonial government.³⁰ The group included twenty-year-old Gaspar *El Lugareño* Betancourt Cisneros, who had been educated in the United States, and would later figure prominently in the movement to annex Cuba to the United States.³¹ Bolívar told the Cuban delegation that "the time was not ripe" for their plans.³²

In April 1823, a military pronouncement against the liberal masonic officers restored absolutist monarchical rule in Spain. The Captain General in Cuba, Francisco Dionisio Vives, obtained from the king unlimited powers to preserve order and created a Military Commission

to process political crimes. He soon crushed the separatist conspiracy and set up an autocratic rule. The island, under martial law, became an armed camp with forty thousand Spanish troops.³³ President Monroe gave his annual message to Congress in December 1823, later described as the Monroe Doctrine, in which he declared that the American continents were "not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers," and that the United States would "consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." Cuban hopes for annexation to the United States were dashed when Monroe concluded that "with the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere."³⁴

In the Spring of 1826, the leaders of four Latin American nations met in Panama, at the urging of Bolivar, to discuss the formation of a confederation of states for mutual defense. The previous year, Bolivar had promised José Agustín Arango that he would propose the independence of Cuba at the meeting.³⁵ The United States representatives to the conference carried specific instructions from Secretary of State Henry Clay "to produce the effect desired of suspending any military or naval expedition preparing against Cuba and Porto Rico...."³⁶ President John Quincy Adams believed that a revolt in Cuba would harm the negotiations Russia was realizing in Madrid for recognition of the Latin American nations. Months later, when Cuban separatist José Aniceto Iznaga met with Bolivar to discuss the future of the island, the liberator claimed that he was unable to act because of the opposition from the United States and England. He suggested that the only way he would send aid was if the Cuban people revolted, established a provisional government, and asked Colombia for help.³⁷ The repressive situation in Cuba made an uprising extremely difficult. The most recent attempt, headed by Francisco Agüero Velazco

and Manuel Andrés Sánchez, resulted in the first hanging of separatist activists in March 1826.³⁸

Another Creole separatist movement, the *Gran Legión del Aguila Negra*, was uncovered in December 1830. The Spanish Minister in Washington, D.C., sent the details of the conspiracy to the Captain General in Cuba. This led to the establishment of a Spanish diplomatic espionage network in the United States that frustrated many separatist plans for almost seventy years. One of the leading plotters, José Julián Solís, a native of New Orleans, where the conspiracy had ramifications, was arrested in Havana and he implicated others. As a result, six conspirators were sentenced to death, and eleven imprisoned.³⁹ To neutralize dissidents, a new prison, the largest in Latin America, was built in Havana.⁴⁰

American interests to acquire Cuba were renewed after Texas independence in 1836. Nicholas P. Trist, the American consul in Havana, wrote to President Martin Van Buren the following year that an offer of \$40 million should be made to the Queen of Spain to purchase the island, and the matter would be solved "in a twinkling." Trist viewed the acquisition as "a second edition of the Louisiana purchase."⁴¹ The economic Panic of 1837 in the United States, accompanied by a soaring national debt, made this offer impracticable.

The annexation of Texas to the United States in March 1845 started a popular campaign, with greater momentum in the South, for acquiring Cuba. Florida Senator David Yulee soon presented a resolution in the Senate asking President James K. Polk to begin negotiations with Spain for the cession of Cuba to the United States. Before the question could be debated, Yulee withdrew his motion.⁴² That same year, Vice President George Dallas toasted the annexation of Cuba at a public dinner, and two years later wrote a letter in favor of appropriating the island.⁴³ The Mexican War postponed the Cuban annexation issue in Congress.

In the spring of 1848 the Havana Club was created for the purpose of clandestinely fomenting the annexation of Cuba to the United States. It was headed by thirty-eight-year-old attorney, planter, poet and novelist José Luis Alfonso, vice-president of the Havana Railway Company, and other members included his brother-in-law, twenty-eight-year-old wealthy merchant and planter Miguel de Aldama, who owned five sugar mills; Carlos Núñez del Castillo, Director of the Savings Bank of Havana; forty-three-year-old merchant Domingo de Goicouría; thirty-three-year-old attorney, poet and novelist José Antonio Echeverría; attorney Manuel Rodríguez Mena; thirty-six-year-old attorney, novelist and educator Ramón de Palma and twenty-six-year-old educator and poet Rafael María de Mendive. These people were friends of Ambrosio José Gonzales who, at the age of thirty, joined the Havana Club, along with American journalist John Sidney Thrasher, whose mother was Cuban; thirty-five-year-old novelist Cirilo Villaverde; nineteen-year-old attorney and journalist José Agustín Quintero; thirty-eight-year-old agronomist Francisco de Frías Jacott (the Count of Pozos Dulces); forty-two-year-old attorney Anacleto Bermúdez; twenty-seven-year-old journalist Pedro Angel Castellón; Matanzas merchant, shipowner and planter Cristobal Madán, a naturalized American citizen who owned the *Rosa* sugar mill in Cimarrones; and Venezuelan Consul Manuel Muñoz Castro.⁴⁴ The conspirators were mostly aristocrats, intellectuals, freemasons, and slave-owning sugar planters, who frequently travelled in North America and Europe, and who abhorred colonial government abuses, corruption, economic stagnation and high taxes. Gonzales, Quintero, Alfonso, Frías and Goicouría had been educated in the United States. They wanted to install American democratic institutions in the island and make its three provinces individual Southern states. The plotters feared that Spain, pressured by the abolitionist policies of England and France, would end slavery and ruin

the island's sugar economy. The 1848 French revolution that emancipated the slaves in the French Caribbean colonies by decree on 27 April, and the threat of a Republican regime in Spain that would abolish slavery in Cuba, gave a sense of urgency to the annexationist plan.⁴⁵ Some conspirators favored annexation only because it would guarantee their chattel property.⁴⁶ Those opposed to slavery, like Villaverde, believed that annexation to the Union would increment white emigration and foment industrialization, which would induce a gradual emancipation.⁴⁷

The Havana Club met in the Aldama mansion under the principles of secrecy its members practiced in masonic lodges, and adopted code names. Gonzales was known as *Germán*.⁴⁸ Gonzales was also a freemason, although the date of his initiation into the fraternity has not been established.⁴⁹ The plotters unanimously agreed that an invasion of Cuba to overthrow the colonial regime could be realized by hiring five thousand American veterans of the Mexican War. These mercenaries would provide a quick victory to avoid a prolonged civil war which would obliterate their wealth and provoke a slave insurrection.⁵⁰ The volunteer troops were still occupying Mexico, awaiting a discharge to return home. In May 1848, the Club sent assistant school principal Rafael de Castro to locate Major-General William Jenkins Worth in Mexico, and offer him three million dollars to lead the expedition.⁵¹ Since de Castro did not speak English, he had to rely on an interpreter.⁵² The Cubans were aware of the military exploits of the fifty-four-year-old Worth, a hero of the War of 1812 and the Seminole War. During the Mexican War, Worth was the first person to plant the U.S. flag on the Rio Grande, had led the attack and occupied the assumed impregnable bishop's palace at Monterrey, and after participating in the capture of Veracruz and other major engagements, commanded the advance guard that entered Mexico City. Complying with orders, Worth stopped within a few blocks of the Grand Plaza,

allowing General John Anthony Quitman the privilege of first entering the plaza, occupying the National Palace and raising over it the American flag.⁵³ Worth had also advocated the cause of Manifest Destiny in a letter he sent to Secretary of War William L. Marcy on October 1847, which prompted the New York *Sun* and the *Herald* to call for his nomination as Democratic presidential candidate.⁵⁴ The Washington correspondent of the New Orleans *Picayune* reported three months later that Worth's missive favored the United States annexation of Mexico, Central America, and "in due course of time, the island of Cuba."⁵⁵

Cuban historians Herminio Portel Vilá and Emeterio Santovenia claimed that Castro first went to Jalapa, where he conferred with General Franklin Pierce. After explaining the purpose of his mission, Castro purportedly received from Pierce a letter of introduction to Worth, who was encamped at Tacubaya, on the outskirts of the capital. When the Cuban emissary arrived there, Worth had just returned to the United States. Portell Vilá cited Cirilo Villaverde's unpublished manuscript *The Memoirs of General Narciso López* for this erroneous version, and Santovenia seems to have relied on the same account.⁵⁶ This inaccurate version indicates that the Villaverde diary was apparently rewritten later with faulty data.

The encounter between the Cubans and Pierce appears dubious, as the future United States president had been in Jalapa from the 25th to the 29th of July 1847, and left Mexico in mid-December of that year.⁵⁷ Worth's division evacuated to Jalapa on 22 June and did not exit Mexico until 15 July 1848.⁵⁸ Worth's brother-in-law, Major John T. Sprague, wrote that Worth was first approached with the Cuba offer by a "committee of gentlemen" in Puebla when departing Mexico.⁵⁹ Gonzales later indicated that after Worth spoke with the Cuban delegates at Jalapa, he accepted their offer, contingent upon resigning his military commission and his

volunteer troops being disbanded in Mexico.⁶⁰ Worth's biographer relies on this single Gonzales account, because the general's personal letters and papers were destroyed at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁶¹

Another separatist conspiracy in Cuba, led by General Narciso López, had been brewing in the central Trinidad region for over a year. López was born in Caracas, Venezuela, on 29 October 1797, to a wealthy merchant family, and joined the Spanish army at the start of the Latin American wars of independence.⁶² When the royal troops evacuated Venezuela, the twenty-one-year-old Colonel López went with them to Cuba, where he married Dolores de Frías Jacott, a member of a rich Creole planter family.⁶³ According to his biographer, López maintained the bachelor vices common to contemporary Spanish army officers: he led a licentious life, mutually wooing aristocratic ladies and lower class women, producing an unaccounted number of illegitimate offspring, and gambling his pay on playing cards, cock fights, or any game of chance.⁶⁴ His enemies would later say that he had squandered his wife's fortune at the gambling table, causing their separation, and that he was reduced to borrowing money from acquaintances to keep gambling.⁶⁵

In 1827 López was transferred to Spain, participating in the Carlist War and the Portugal campaign in 1834 as aide-de-camp to General Jerónimo Valdés, and promoted to brigadier general. In 1840 the Spanish crown faced a revolt from enlightened army officers who wanted to install a republican form of government. López, who had been initiated into the masonic fraternity in Madrid, sided with the liberals, most of whom were freemasons. These officers managed to dethrone the regency of María Cristina. Army commander in chief General Baldomero Espartero became Regent from 1840 to 1843.



NARCISO LOPEZ.

Espartero appointed General Valdés Captain-General of Cuba, who in turn named López president of the Executive and Permanent Military Commission and also Governor of Trinidad province.⁶⁶ The Liberal officers were deposed in 1843, and Valdés was replaced by Leopoldo O'Donnell, whose brother Carlos had been defeated by López on the battlefield during the Carlist War.⁶⁷ O'Donnell quickly cashiered López and began a reign of persecution against liberals and freemasons, motivating López to plot against the government.⁶⁸ The conspiracy had the backing of a number of Spanish officers, including José Isidro de Armenteros, and members of the rank and file who were his friends and former subordinates; planters and peasants; and one of the leaders in the city of Cienfuegos was councilman José Díaz de Villegas.⁶⁹ López met one of his first conspiratorial recruits, thirty-four-year-old José M. Sánchez Iznaga, at a Trinidad cock fight ring. Sánchez Iznaga and his brother Saturnino owned the Santa Bárbara Sugar Mill in Cienfuegos.⁷⁰ Sánchez Iznaga, who had been educated in Philadelphia, wrote on 25 May 1848 to his uncle José Aniceto Iznaga in New York, informing him that the López insurrection would start in one month. The letter, written in English, was smuggled out of the country. It stated that their political goals were the overthrow of Spanish rule in Cuba; the establishment of a provisional government; diplomatic recognition from the United States; and petitioning Washington for annexation to the Union.⁷¹ López never deviated from this blueprint of the Texas annexation model: Texas colonists, in concert with United States government officials, and employing volunteers, weapons and funds from the United States, succeeded in achieving independence from Mexico. The Republic of Texas then applied for admission into the United States. The following year, an anonymous López biography published by Cirilo Villaverde indicated that his plan had always been "Independence and Annexation to the American

Union."⁷² Cuban historian Vidal Morales believed that López only desired separating Cuba from Spain, using whatever means were available, without concern for the future.⁷³ Portell Vilá, who based his three volume biography of López principally on the unedited Villaverde diary, expounded a later Villaverde revisionist thesis that López was a nationalist who manipulated his followers toward his secret agenda of establishing a permanent Cuban Republic. Yet, López's extemporaneous character, easily swayed by gossip and rumors, and his repeated planing failures demonstrate that he was incapable of carrying out such complex long term plans. López was extremely bitter toward the Spanish Catholic monarchy, which had stripped him of his former wealth and power, and he was driven by a constant rage to strike back at the slightest opportunity.

In May, López informed American Consul Robert B. Campbell in Havana of his planned insurrection, apparently to receive American recognition or assistance, and Campbell replied that another plot was already being hatched by the Havana Club. López was given similar information by his friend José Antonio Echeverría, the Club secretary, who advised him to postpone his uprising, scheduled for 24 June 1848, until the invasion landing.⁷⁴

Meanwhile, the Havana Club had been active in the United States through their representatives in New York City, who created the Cuban Council. They were led by Gaspar Betancourt Cisneros, Cristobal Madán and Miguel Teurbe Tolón.⁷⁵ Their organ was *La Verdad*, a newspaper printed on the New York *Sun*'s press, which promoted Cuban annexation to the United States. A wealthy landowner and railroad builder, his separatist ideology led to his exile and subsequent government confiscation of his property.⁷⁶ Teurbe Tolón was a twenty-eight-year-old Matanzas poet, novelist, newspaper editor and philosophy professor in the University

of Havana, whose progressive thoughts forced him into exile in 1848. He left behind his wife Emilia Teurbe Tolón, a cousin he had married four years earlier.⁷⁷ Madán had married in November 1845 the widow Mary O'Sullivan, younger sister of John L. O'Sullivan, editor of the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* who in 1845 coined the phrase "Manifest Destiny."⁷⁸

O'Sullivan's publication espoused American expansionism and Cuban annexation. In pursuit of these goals, O'Sullivan and Illinois Democratic Senator Stephen Douglas visited President James K. Polk at the White House on the afternoon of 10 May 1848. They gave Polk a document proposing to buy Cuba from Spain and urged him to take appropriate measures. Polk remained noncommittal but later wrote in his diary that he favored the annexation of Cuba through purchase.⁷⁹ Polk would soon acquire California and New Mexico through purchase, when the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that ended the Mexican War stipulated the payment of \$15 million for those territories. After the treaty ratifications were exchanged on 30 May, Polk presented the issue of Cuban annexation to his Cabinet. Treasury Secretary Robert J. Walker of Mississippi and Navy Secretary John Y. Mason of Virginia favored offering \$100 million for the island. Postmaster General Cave Johnson of Tennessee opposed the idea of incorporating a large slave population to the Union, while Secretary of State James Buchanan of Pennsylvania took a cautious position, claiming that the timing was not right for such a move, which might injure the election of Democratic candidate Lewis Cass to the presidency. Buchanan apparently feared that Cuban annexation would strengthen the Free Soil faction of the Democratic Party, opposed to slave territory expansion. Polk disagreed with Buchanan, and considering it an urgent matter, set up another Cabinet meeting to discuss the subject.⁸⁰

Two days later, Buchanan forwarded to the President a dispatch dated 18 May 1848 from Consul Campbell in Havana, claiming that a revolution or civil war led by Cuban annexationists was imminent.⁸¹ Campbell had initially received his information from a member of the Havana Club, who told him that they were seeking the services of an American general to lead an invasion of Cuba. O'Sullivan visited Polk again on 2 June and informed that he had received urgent news from Cuba that a revolution to overthrow the colonial government was about to occur, for the purpose of seeking annexation to the United States. In addition, a Cuban conspirator was in Baltimore seeking to obtain American aid and O'Sullivan was on his way to visit him. The editor concluded his interview with the president by revealing that a distinguished U.S. Army general in Mexico had plans to soon resign his commission and liberate Cuba with the discharged volunteers that would join him. Polk stated his opposition to the plan and reiterated that the United States should only obtain Cuba through "amicable purchase."⁸²

The following day, Polk relayed to the Cabinet O'Sullivan's information. A great deal of time was spent discussing the issue and Buchanan stated that although he favored acquiring Cuba, it could involve the United States in a war with Great Britain and France.⁸³ O'Sullivan visited Polk that night to inform that he had met with the Cuban agent in Baltimore and although he did not give the president any new details, O'Sullivan repeated his views favoring the purchase of the island. Polk turned the conversation to the more pressing topic of the role of O'Sullivan's New York Democrat Barnburner faction in the presidential election. Polk expressed the opinion that if the dissidents did not support the Cass nomination, they were in effect joining the opposition. O'Sullivan's indirect reply gave the president the impression that he preferred the defeat of the Democratic party rather than a Cass victory.⁸⁴ O'Sullivan used bad judgment in

revealing the plot to the president, apparently expecting approval or assistance, but the results were detrimental to the annexationists.

Cuban Council members José Aniceto Iznaga and Gaspar and Alonso Betancourt went to Washington to inform Polk of the López insurrection. They met with Mississippi Senator Jefferson Davis and Assistant Postmaster General William J. Brown, who got them an audience with the President on 23 June. Davis first met privately with Polk, who expressed that since the matter was "very delicate" he would listen to their petition but would not commit himself.⁸⁵ The Cubans, in the presence of Davis and Brown, told the President that a revolution on the island was scheduled for that same day or the next, with the final goal of statehood in the Union. Davis then read the Sánchez Iznaga letter of 25 May. Polk noted that during the short encounter, the Cubans did not request American intervention and he concluded the meeting with an evasive reply. After the visitors departed, Polk was visited by Buchanan and Walker on state business, and he informed them of what had just transpired.⁸⁶ Polk never favored a Cuban revolution because it would ruin his chance to buy the island.⁸⁷ He therefore had Secretary of State Buchanan tell the Spanish Minister in Washington of the threatened insurrection, Consul Campbell in Havana informed the Cuban authorities, American Minister Romulus M. Saunders in Madrid transmitted the warning to the Spanish Crown while making an indirect purchase offer, and Secretary of War Marcy ordered Major General William O. Butler to prevent the volunteers leaving Mexico from trying to stop in Cuba.⁸⁸ Marcy ordered Worth to take his troops to Jefferson Barracks in New Orleans "and then proceed to Washington for further instructions."⁸⁹

While López awaited the Worth invasion, Sánchez Iznaga told his mother of the scheduled uprising in neighboring Cienfuegos. Fearing for his life, she informed her husband, who under

the advice of an attorney, notified the Trinidad governor on 4 July 1848.⁹⁰ Sánchez Iznaga and other conspirators were immediately detained for questioning. Two days later, the governor of Cienfuegos called López on an urgent matter. Aware of the other arrests, López quickly left for the northern port of Cárdenas, where the next day he boarded the brig *Neptune*. He arrived in Bristol, Rhode Island, with his son and servant on 23 July, and went to New York the next day.⁹¹

The Havana Club then commissioned Ambrosio Gonzales to travel to the United States, make their \$3 million offer to Worth, and to put him in contact with López and Betancourt in New York City.⁹² Gonzales left Havana for New Orleans on the steamship *Crescent City* on 5 August. New Orleans had served as a transit point for the American troops returning home from Mexico. General Worth and his staff, which included Colonel Henry Bohlen, had taken quarters in the luxurious St. Charles Hotel on 20 July. Also checking into the same location by coincidence on that day was Doctor A. L. Saunders of New Orleans, a future Cuban filibuster activist.⁹³ Worth was invited by a group of officers to partake in a social event the next day but he turned them down, having to leave for Washington in the morning.⁹⁴ The General was scheduled to appear on 2 August before a court of inquiry on charges brought against him and other officers by General Winfield Scott during the Mexican campaign, for allegedly violating a regulation forbidding officers from writing private letters detailing active operations.⁹⁵

Gonzales arrived in New Orleans on 10 August, and recalled years later that since he had problems obtaining a passport, he stowed away in a state-room of the steamship *Crescent City*.⁹⁶ While at sea, the day before landing, Gonzales signed a card, along with thirty-five other passengers, expressing their satisfaction with the ship's captain and the "extremely comfortable

and agreeable voyage."⁹⁷ Gonzales tried to remain anonymous by signing "Ambrosio G. Rufin," but after disembarking, the newspaper list of passengers identified him as "A. Gonzalez." Two other Cuban separatists were on the voyage, Antonio Yznaga del Valle and Juan Armenteros, who were affiliated with the Cuban Council.⁹⁸ Gonzales had given his credentials in Havana to an American passenger and asked that they be deposited at the New Orleans post office under a fictitious name. Not finding the documents there, he later surmised that they had somehow been intercepted by Secretary of State Buchanan.⁹⁹

The New Orleans *Picayune* announced on that morning that General Worth had reached Washington on 29 July.¹⁰⁰ Two days earlier the same newspaper, under the headline, "Arrival of an Insurrectionary Fugitive," had disclosed that General López was in New York.¹⁰¹ Gonzales was apparently aware of these details, as he immediately departed, catching up with Worth a week later in Newport, Rhode Island.¹⁰² The charges against Worth had been quickly dismissed and he was on a military leave of absence.¹⁰³ The general was staying at the Ocean House, along with another Mexican War hero, Colonel Braxton Bragg.¹⁰⁴

Gonzales used ritualistic signs, code words and a secret-grip handshake to identify himself as a brother freemason to Worth before extending the Havana Club offer.¹⁰⁵ Worth identified with the plight of persecuted masons. He had seen how in his native New York the anti-masonic hysteria began in 1829 and soon spread throughout the country. It was only in recent years that American freemasonry was starting to recuperate. Gonzales claimed that Worth gave him "perfect credence at the outset," and accepted his proposition. The general then invited the Cuban to accompany him to his native city of Hudson, New York, where on 23 August he was honored with a banquet at the court house and received a sword from the citizenry.¹⁰⁶ Worth then took

Gonzales to West Point, and introduced him to Professor Gustavus W. Smith, a freemason,¹⁰⁷ and other army officers. Smith would later appoint Gonzales in charge of Confederate artillery at the battle of Honey Hill. Although Smith also became actively involved in the filibuster movement six years later, a recent biography of Smith omits mention of Gonzales.¹⁰⁸

The three million dollar offer was very tempting to Worth, who after his long absence found that his home in Watervliet, New York, had been sold for tax arrears.¹⁰⁹ Gonzales later wrote that he proceeded to New York City with Worth and introduced him to General López and Gaspar Betancourt, but did not give details of the meeting, which are still obscure.¹¹⁰ In late August, Worth stopped in Philadelphia to visit his aide-de-camp, Captain John Clifford Pemberton.¹¹¹ Fourteen years later, when Pemberton received command of the Confederate Department of South Carolina and Georgia, he appointed Gonzales his Chief of Artillery. Worth continued to Washington, where he introduced Gonzales to Navy Secretary John Y. Mason, a brother freemason,¹¹² to Treasury Secretary Robert J. Walker, and to other government officials.¹¹³

Gonzales then suggested that Worth send his confidant, Colonel Henry Bohlen, to Havana to receive assurances from the Havana Club and work out a financial agreement. Bohlen was a German-born thirty-eight-year-old wealthy Philadelphia liquor merchant and Dutch consul.¹¹⁴ López wrote from New York to Havana Club secretary José Antonio Echevarría on 6 September that Bohlen was on his way to Cuba, on behalf of Worth, after having worked out an agreement, and that he anxiously awaited the resolution of the matter.¹¹⁵ Bohlen returned from Cuba with financial assurances from the Havana Club leaders, who provided the plans of major cities and fortifications requested by Worth. According to Gonzales, another Worth confidant, Lieutenant

Colonel James J. Duncan, was also in on the plot.¹¹⁶ It is difficult to trace the activities of the conspirators at this time, especially master intriguer John L. O'Sullivan, who in late November was taking the same steamer to Savannah as Mansfield Lovell,¹¹⁷ a freemason,¹¹⁸ who would later be a leading Cuban filibuster military organizer in New York.

The U.S. War Department had other plans for Worth. On 7 November General Orders Number 58 assigned him to the command of the 8th and 9th Military Departments in the West. Worth was ordered to report in person to Major-General Zachary Taylor in Louisiana.¹¹⁹ Taylor had just won the presidential election that day and agreed to resign his military commission in three months. Worth departed from Washington on 5 December, arriving in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on the 8th. After three days of public tributes, he went South on a Mississippi river boat to assume his new command.¹²⁰

The day Worth left Washington, Gonzales wrote to his former Havana acquaintance Nicholas P. Trist, now in West Chester, Pennsylvania, asking for letters of introduction to people in the capital, where he would soon reside. Trist, who had negotiated the Mexican War peace treaty, had become assistant secretary of State. Trist hastily wrote to South Carolina Democratic Representative Isaac E. Holmes recommending Gonzales as "a gentleman of high intelligence" in whom he had great confidence because of the Cuban's "honourable principles & generous sentiments."¹²¹ Trist apparently was well aware of the Cuban annexation plans, because he warned Holmes that Gonzales was involved in a business of a "perilous nature to himself" and warned of using "the utmost caution." Trist then requested that the Carolinian mention his name to people who would be conducive to helping Gonzales achieve his "object."¹²²

The coming of a Whig Administration to power in March gave Gonzales only three

months in which to attempt to influence the outgoing Democrats to move on Cuban annexation, just as Texas statehood had been achieved just two days before the Polk inauguration. Taylor, a Louisiana slave owner, had won the Whig nomination with the backing of Southern delegates after he renounced opposition to the expansion of slave territory. By the time he entered the White House, however, Taylor had fallen under the influence of William H. Seward, whose territorial expansion goals pointed toward Canada and Alaska rather than the Caribbean Basin.¹²³ Taylor also opposed freemasonry and declared soon after assuming office that he was "definitely not a Mason."¹²⁴ During the anti-Masonic period of the 1830s, Taylor's vice president Millard Fillmore had been "one of the most bitter critics of the fraternity which he characterized as 'organized treason.'"¹²⁵ A number of prominent Whig politicians, including William Seward, Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner and Taylor's Secretary of State Daniel Webster, had either belonged to the Anti-Masonic Party in the 1830s or had denounced the fraternity.¹²⁶

Gonzales established residency in the fashionable Irving Hotel in the capital, claiming that the revolutionary mission that brought him to the United States precluded his return home.¹²⁷ His pursuit of Cuban annexation made powerful political connections, including Massachusetts lawyer and legislator Caleb Cushing, who that same month introduced Gonzales to Polk.¹²⁸ Freemasonry also was a common bond between Gonzales, Cushing, Polk and Vice President George M. Dallas.¹²⁹ The President had commissioned Cushing a Brigadier General during the Mexican War after raising a volunteer regiment.¹³⁰ A former Whig Representative, Cushing favored states' rights and opposed abolition.¹³¹ Cushing had gone to Washington, D.C. in December because Polk planned to name him Commissioner in the Mexican Boundary dispute,

but he soon returned to Massachusetts due to his father's terminal illness.¹³² Gonzales would later start visiting Polk's niece at the White House.¹³³

Among the letters of introduction Gonzales received, there was one from Jane McManus Storms, dated in New York City on 4 January 1849, for the state's anti-abolitionist Democratic Senator Daniel S. Dickinson.¹³⁴ The forty-one-year-old Storms was the daughter of former New York Representative William McManus. Using the pseudonym Cora Montgomery, she had written pro-expansionist columns in the New York *Sun* and was the editor of the English-language page in *La Verdad*.¹³⁵ She highly recommended Gonzales, describing him as "a republican patriot in theory as well as action" whose statements and opinions were those of a "true representative of true men." Storms asked Dickinson to introduce Gonzales to liberal northern Democrats who favored Cuban annexation. The senator also identified with Gonzales through the masonic fraternity.¹³⁶

Gonzales was joined in Washington by López and Sánchez Iznaga, who had jumped bail and fled Cuba. The General on 23 February wrote to revolutionary conspirator Juan Manuel Macías in New York, who was preparing to go to Cuba, and asked him to request economic help in the island from Benigno Gener, Elias Hernández and others, for an expedition that would sail after April (later called the Round Island expedition), and quickly remit the funds to Alonso Betancourt in Philadelphia.¹³⁷

The first politician to call on General López was Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, who had favored Cuban annexation since 1822. Five years earlier, when he was Secretary of State, the Carolinian had declared that if emancipated from Spain, "Cuba... shall not be into any other hands but ours... because that island is indispensable to the safety of the United

States."¹³⁸ In a meeting with López, Gonzales and Sánchez Iznaga, Calhoun expressed himself favorably toward Cuban annexation.¹³⁹ He told López that "The South ought to flock down there in 'open boats,' the moment they hear the tocsin."¹⁴⁰ Shortly thereafter, Gonzales was invited by a prominent Southern senator to the Senate recess room to confer with Calhoun and four other Senators--a Whig and three Democrats--interested in the Carolinian's views on Cuban annexation. Calhoun spoke favorably of the Cuban cause, the right of Americans to assist in case of insurrection, and his disregard of European intervention. Everyone present seems to have concurred with him.¹⁴¹ However North Carolina Democratic Representative Abraham Watkins Venable, an anti-annexationist, told the House, after Calhoun passed away, that he had attended the meeting with the Cubans and that Calhoun disapproved of their plans and opposed annexation.¹⁴²

Calhoun's views changed shortly after the meeting when he became obsessed with his Senate opposition to the Wilmot Proviso, prohibiting slavery in the territories. In a private interview with Gonzales, Calhoun acknowledged the similarity between the populations of Cuba and Virginia in proportion to whites and blacks, and that the island could add at least two states to the South. Yet, the Cuba question would turn his "threshold" issue from an internal to an external contest, and might provoke its demise. Calhoun procrastinated on immediate action by telling Gonzáles, "You have my best wishes, but whatever the result, as the pear, when ripe, falls by the law of gravity into the lap of the husbandman, so will Cuba eventually drop into the lap of the Union."¹⁴³

While lobbying on behalf of Cuban annexation on capitol hill, Gonzales was encouraged to apply for the secretaryship of the Commission for the Adjustment of Mexican Claims. This

was the first of various attempts he made to acquire political patronage jobs during the next forty years. Gonzales wrote to the outgoing Polk the day prior to Zachary Taylor's inauguration, asking to be recommended to the new President or his Secretary of State, John Middleton Clayton, for the Mexican Claims Commission position.¹⁴⁴ To augment his possibility of government employment, Gonzales became an American citizen in the Circuit Court of Washington County on 26 March 1849. The fifth paragraph of the Naturalization Law granted citizenship to any free white who as a minor lived in the United States at least three years before the age of twenty-one, and that for three years preceding taking the oath, it was his *bonafide* intention to become an American citizen.¹⁴⁵ During the oath-taking ceremony, in which he renounced all foreign allegiance and fidelity, "and particularly to the Queen of Spain," Gonzales was accompanied by George A. Gardiner, a young Washington dentist, who served as a character witness.¹⁴⁶

Doctor Gardiner and his brother John Carlos Gardiner were filibuster agents whose active roles have been overlooked by historians. The dentist had been living in Mexico during the Mexican War and returned to the United States in July 1848 with the last of the evacuated troops.¹⁴⁷ He later filed a petition for \$1,650,000 with the Mexican Claims Commission, of which he was awarded \$450,000, for a silver mine he said to have owned in San Luis Potosí that was blown up by the Mexican army.¹⁴⁸

Gardiner had appeared before the Spanish Consul in Charleston, South Carolina, on 30 December 1848, and received a visa to travel to Havana two days later on the steamer *Isabel*. The Consul, later answering an inquiry by the Spanish Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Washington, Angel Calderón de la Barca, stated that he believed him to be the "Carlos S. Gardner, suspected of complicity in the criminal attempts of former General Narciso

López."¹⁴⁹ The Consul reported that no one questioned in Charleston seemed to know Gardiner, including Pedro de León and the Marqués de las Cañadas, who had made the trip from Washington with him, and that Gardiner had not traveled to Havana previously.¹⁵⁰ The confusion stemmed from the fact that they were dealing with brothers and that John Carlos Gardiner also went by the names Carlos Gardiner and Charles Gardiner.¹⁵¹

Gonzales did not receive the desired employment from the new Whig Administration. His annexationist plans took a downturn when Worth suddenly died of cholera on 7 May 1849 and Lieutenant Colonel James J. Duncan also succumbed to the plague soon thereafter. The reasons why Worth never took command of the invasion force were shrouded in controversy for years after his death. The anti-filibuster *New York Journal of Commerce* claimed that the revolutionaries had been unable to raise the \$100,000 advance that Worth demanded before resigning his military commission, so as not to leave his family in a precarious situation.¹⁵² Son-in-law Major John T. Sprague sent a letter to Whig newspapers immediately after the final expedition, claiming that the memory of Worth "should not be connected with a cause having so little to commend it, and which has terminated so fatally." A few days later, the *Delta* responded that Worth took "a great interest in the Cuban movement" while in New Orleans and had regarded the cause as "a noble and praiseworthy one." As to the extent of the General's involvement, the newspaper claimed to have "no positive information."¹⁵³ Gonzales later blamed the transfer of Worth to Texas by a "powerful and rival influence" and his sudden demise for frustrating annexation goals.¹⁵⁴ Four years after Worth's death, Sánchez Iznaga wrote that the Havana Club had withdrawn its \$3 million offer in early 1849, "declaring that it was impossible to gather that sum."¹⁵⁵ Worth's biographer was unable to clarify this matter.¹⁵⁶

The Cubans then sought help from another Mexican War hero. Gonzales, serving as translator for López, accompanied him to confer with Senator Jefferson Davis, chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs. Mrs. Varina Davis overheard the trio talking in whispers for some time in their Washington hotel room, before Davis excused himself. As the Cubans were leaving, Mrs. Davis heard her husband recommend Major Robert E. Lee as the only man in whom he had implicit confidence. The senator later informed his wife of his visitor's identities and their purpose: he had been asked to lead a liberating expedition to Cuba in exchange for \$100,000 to be immediately deposited in her name, and after victory, an additional equal amount, or a very fine coffee plantation.¹⁵⁷ The Cuban revolutionaries met with Lee in Baltimore and made a generous offer for his military services. Lee went to the capital, discussed the issue with Davis, and declined to accept "a proposition for foreign service against a government with which the United States was at peace."¹⁵⁸ Davis and Lee, who were not freemasons,¹⁵⁹ did not get involved in the affair as deeply as some Southern members of the fraternity.

Gonzales went to the summer resort of Fauquier White Sulphur Springs, in Warrenton, Virginia, in late July, where the state legislature was in session after fleeing a cholera epidemic in Richmond. He addressed the legislators during a complimentary dinner given to Edward Fisher, denouncing in a fiery speech, with "wild tones of defiance," the atrocities committed in his homeland by the Spaniards.¹⁶⁰ In the evenings, at the end of the daily ball, Gonzales entertained the guests with classical songs. His voice had an extraordinary clarity, tone, and powerful ranges of pitch. On Friday, the 27th, Gonzales sang *Souna La Tromba* from Bellini's opera *I Puritani* with great spirit. Three nights later, Colonel Spaulding, of the Virginia press, announced his presence during a banquet and proposed a toast to his health. Gonzales, who had

just been appointed second-in-command of the secret Round Island expedition under preparation, rose from his seat, raised his glass and toasted, "To the coming sister of the South, to the future gem State of the Union, the Island of Cuba."¹⁶¹

Gonzales had managed, in just one year, to rise from an obscure conspirator to become a leading figure in the Cuban annexation movement. His captivating personality, ideology and masonic affiliation had gained him in a short time the trust and friendship of nationally renown generals, politicians and government officials, and even got him entry into the White House. Although he had become a naturalized citizen of the United States, and his earlier studies in New York and travels throughout the country had thoroughly Americanized him, he did not forsake his Cuban identity. Gonzales strongly believed that his homeland, under the oppression of Spanish colonial despotism, could best benefit by enjoying the freedoms guaranteed under the American Constitution. Statehood would also bring economic prosperity and insure the institution of slavery, on which the Cuban sugar monoculture was built. These goals were not easy to achieve, especially when the expansion of slave territory had become such a contested issue in Congress. All legal avenues of self determination were denied to the Cuban people and Gonzales chose the road of revolutionary change, even though he lacked the military experience for such an endeavor. The hour was fast approaching when he would have to abandon the speaker's podium and take up the gun.

NOTES

1. Copy of birth certificate No. 644, Ambrosio José Cándido González, in Gonzales Family Papers, on deposit at the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina, from now on cited as GFP.
2. Ann Fripp Hampton, *A Family Sketchbook: Containing Genealogical Charts and Biographical Sketches* (Columbia, S.C.: n.p., 1979), 11; and Dr. J. A. Treserra, Matanzas, Cuba, 9 April 1952, to Victor Barringer (husband of Gertrude Hampton), of Sumter, South Carolina and Richmond, Virginia, letter in possession of Ann Fripp Hampton.
3. Dr. J. A. Treserra, 12 August 1952 and 7 December 1953, to Victor Barringer, in possession of Ann Fripp Hampton.
4. "Documentos referentes a D. Ambrosio José Gonzáles" GFP; and *Cuba en la Mano: Enciclopedia Popular Ilustrada* (Havana: Ucar, García y Clá., 1940), 662.
5. James Grant Wilson, *The Memorial History of the City of New-York: From Its First Settlement to the Year 1892*, III (New York: New-York History Company, 1893), 361.
6. Brooks, *Stories of the Confederacy*, 284.
7. Beauregard to Thomas Jordan, 24 January 1869, The Papers of P.G.T. Beauregard, Reel 1, Frame 594, LC.
8. Hamilton Basso, *Beauregard: The Great Creole* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), 17.
9. "Actuaciones del juzgado de primera instancia del norte en la ciudad de La Habana," 8 February 1909, GFP; and Lewis P. Jones, "Carolinians and Cubans: The Elliots and Gonzales, Their Work and Their Writings." Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1952.
10. Dr. J. A. Treserra, 7 December 1953, to Victor Barringer, letter in possession of Ann Fripp Hampton.
11. O.D.D.O. (J. C. Davis), *The History of the Late Expedition to Cuba* (New Orleans: The Daily Delta, 1850), 59; and *Picayune*, 13 May 1851, 2.
12. The bachelor of laws diploma was in the possession of Major R. K. McMaster, father of Cecilia McMaster, the great-granddaughter of Ambrosio José Gonzáles. Jones, "Carolinians and Cubans," 77.
13. O.D.D.O., *The History of the Late Expedition to Cuba*, 59.
14. Nicholas P. Trist, 6 December 1848, to Isaac E. Holmes, James K. Polk Papers, LC; and Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964), 645.
15. O.D.D.O., *The History of the Late Expedition to Cuba*, 59; and "Actuaciones del juzgado de primera instancia del norte en la ciudad de La Habana," 8 February 1909, GFP.
16. *Historia Gráfica de Cuba 1492-1925* (Miami, Fla.: Trade Litho, 1976), 72.
17. Levi Marrero, *Cuba: Economía y Sociedad*, XIV (Madrid: Editorial Playor, 1988), 109.
18. Rauch, *American Interest in Cuba*, 16.

19. William Shaler to Secretary of State, 14 June 1811, Consular Despatches: Havana, Vol. II, State Department Archives.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Shaler to Monroe, 6 December 1811, annexed document in Spanish, *Ibid.*
22. Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, José M. Pérez Cabrera, Juan J. Remos and Emeterio S. Santovenia, *Historia de la Nación Cubana*, III (Havana: Editorial Historia de la Nación Cubana, S.A., 1952), 42.
23. Portell Vilá, *Historia de Cuba*, I, 182.
24. Rauch, *American Interest in Cuba*, 19.
25. James Biddle to James Monroe, 3 August 1822, James Monroe Papers, LC.
26. Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795 to 1848*, VI (Philadelphia: 1874-1877), 70.
27. *Ibid.*, 73-74.
28. *Ibid.*
29. United States House, Exc. Doc. 21, 32nd. Congress, 1st Session, 6-7.
30. Portell Vilá, *Historia de Cuba*, I, 217.
31. Fermín Peraza Sarausa, *Diccionario Biográfico Cubano*, I (Havana: Ediciones Anuario Bibliografico Cubano, 1951), 42; and Emeterio S. Santovenia, *Huellas de Gloria* (Havana: Editorial Trópico, 1944), 27.
32. Hugh Thomas, *Cuba: The Pursuit of Freedom* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971), 101.
33. *Ibid.*, 102-103.
34. U.S. Congress, *American State Papers: Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States*, Selected and Edited under the Authority of Congress by Asbury Dickins, Secretary of the Senate, and James C. Allen, Clerk of the House of Representatives, Second Series, Volume V, Foreign Relations (Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1858), 245-250.
35. Guerra y Sánchez, *et. al.*, *Historia de la Nación Cubana*, III, 144.
36. Henry Clay to Joel Poinsett, 20 December 1825, United States Ministers' Instructions, Vol. X, State Department Archives.
37. Portell Vilá, *Historia de Cuba*, I, 268.
38. Guerra y Sánchez, *et. al.*, *Historia de la Nación Cubana*, III, 146.
39. Portell Vilá, *Historia de Cuba*, I, 278-279.
40. Thomas, *Cuba*, 195.

41. Nicholas P. Trist to Martin Van Buren (1837), Martin Van Buren Papers, Vol. 31, LC.
42. Rauch, *American Interest in Cuba*, 45.
43. "The Cuban Expedition," *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, October 1850, 498.
44. Ramiro Guerra Sánchez, José M. Pérez Cabrera, Juan J. Remos and Emeterio S. Santovenia, *Historia de la Nación Cubana*, IV (Havana: Editorial Historia de la Nación Cubana, S.A., 1952), 75; and Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, I, 243-244. Biographical date for Havana Club members appears in Juan J. Remos Rubio, *Historia de la Literatura Cubana*, II (Havana: Cárdenas y Compañía, 1945) and Fermín Peraza Sarausa, *Diccionario Biográfico Cubano* (Havana: Anuario Bibliográfico Cubano, 1951-1959). The economic interests of the Havana Club members appear in Hugh Thomas, *Cuba: The Pursuit of Freedom* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 122, 207-208.
45. Gonzales, *Manifesto on Cuban Affairs*, 5-6; and Morales *Iniciadores y primeros mártires*, II, 154.
46. Morales, *Iniciadores y primeros mártires*, II, 10.
47. Santovenia, *Huellas de Gloria*, 29.
48. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, I, 243.
49. Gonzales is included among the freemasons who fought for Cuban independence in Francisco J. Ponte Domínguez, *La Masonería en la Independencia de Cuba* (Havana: Editorial "Modas Magazine," 1954), 45. Ponte Domínguez was Masonic Sovereign Grand Inspector General of the Supreme Council of the Thirty-Third Degree for the Republic of Cuba, a post similar to one that had been occupied by John A. Quitman.
50. Ramiro Guerra, *Manual de historia de Cuba: Desde su descubrimiento hasta 1868* (Madrid: Ediciones R, 1975), 472.
51. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, I, 235; and Morales, *Iniciadores y primeros mártires*, II, 13.
52. Guerra, *Historia de la Nacion Cubana*, IV, 81.
53. James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography*, VI (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1888), 615-616; and Edward S. Wallace, *General William Jenkins Worth: Monterrey's Forgotten Hero* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1953), 166.
54. Wallace, *Worth*, 169.
55. "Washington Correspondence," *Picayune*, 27 January 1848, 2.
56. Portel Vilá, *Narciso López*, I, 236; and Emeterio S. Santovenia, *El President Polk y Cuba* (Havana: El Siglo XX, 1936), 45.
57. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Life of Franklin Pierce* (New York: Garrett Press, Inc., 1970) 2nd. Ed., 89-91, 108; D. W. Bartlett, *The Life of Gen. Franklin Pierce, of New-Hampshire, President of the United States* (New York: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1855), 172-173; and Roy Franklin Nichols, *Franklin Pierce: Young Hickory of the Granite Hills* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958) 2nd. Ed., 155-157, 167-168.
58. *Picayune*, 2 July 1848, 2; and K. Jack Bauer, *The Mexican War 1846-1848* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1974), 388.

59. "Gen. Worth and Cuba," *Picayune*, 22 October 1851, 1.
60. Gonzales, *Manifesto on Cuban Affairs*, 6.
61. Wallace, *Worth*, vi, 185.
62. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, I, 14-16, 25.
63. _____, *Vidas de la Unidad Americana*, 295; and "General Lopez, the Cuban Patriot," *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, February 1850, 97.
64. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, I, 59.
65. Thomas W. Wilson, *An Authentic Narrative of the Piratical Descents Upon Cuba made by hordes from the United States, headed by Narciso Lopez, a native of South America; to which are added some interesting letters and declarations from the prisoners, with a list of their names &c.* (Havana: n.p., 1851), 4.
66. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, I, 298.
67. *Ibid.*, 110.
68. Portell Vilá, *Vidas de la Unidad Americana*, 298-299.
69. Guerra, *et. al.*, *Historia de la Nación Cubana*, IV, 77.
70. Peraza Sarausa, *Diccionario Biografico Cubano*, VI, 18.
71. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, I, 221; and Santovenia, *El President Polk y Cuba*, 83.
72. C. V., *General Lopez, the Cuban patriot* (n.p., 1849), 10.
73. Morales, *Iniciadores y primeros mártires*, II, 56.
74. *Ibid.*, 17-18.
75. *Ibid.*, 12.
76. Remos, *Historia de la Literatura Cubana*, II, 216-218.
77. *Ibid.*, 254-255; and Peraza Sarausa, *Diccionario Biografico Cubano*, VII, 13-14.
78. Sheldon Howard Harris, "The Public Career of John Louis O'Sullivan," Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1958, 275.
79. Milo Milton Quaife, *The Diary of James K. Polk During His Presidency, 1845 to 1849*, III (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1910), 446, from now on cited as *Polk Diary*.
80. *Ibid.*, 469.
81. *Ibid.*, 475.

82. *Ibid.*, 476-477.
83. *Ibid.*, 478-479.
84. *Ibid.*, 480-481.
85. *Ibid.*, 499; and Morales, *Iniciadores y primeros mártires*, II, 13.
86. Quaife, *Polk Diary*, 500.
87. Paul H. Bergeron, *The Presidency of James K. Polk* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 109.
88. Romulus M. Saunders to James Buchanan, 29 July 1848, in William R. Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, XI (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1939), 445; and Pedro J. Pidal to Angel Calderón de la Barca, 16 September 1848, *Ibid.*, 452.
89. Adjutant General to William Worth, 23 June 1848, War Department Archives.
90. Morales, *Iniciadores y primeros mártires*, II, 19.
91. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 20-21; and "Arrival of an Insurrectionary Fugitive," *Picayune*, 8 August 1848, 2. López biographer, Portell Vilá overlooked this detail when he wrote that "It is not possible to fix with exactitude the date in which Narciso López stepped on North American soil..." Portell Vilá also claimed that López was only accompanied by "his faithful assistant." *Ibid.*, 33-35.
92. Gonzales, "On to Cuba," 9.
93. *Picayune*, 21 July 1848, 2.
94. "Courtesies to Gen. Worth," *Picayune*, 22 July 1848, 2.
95. *Picayune*, 11 August 1848, 2.
96. Gonzales, "On to Cuba."
97. "The Steamship Crescent City," *Picayune*, 11 August 1848, 2.
98. "The Crescent City," *Delta*, 11 August 1848, 2.
99. Gonzales, "On to Cuba."
100. *Picayune*, 10 August 1848, 2.
101. "Arrival of an Insurrectionary Fugitive," *The Daily Picayune*, 8 August 1848, 2.
102. *Ibid.*
103. Wallace, *Worth*, 185.
104. *Picayune*, 3 September 1848, 2.

105. General William J. Worth is identified as a freemason who received a masonic burial rite, in William R. Denslow, *10,000 Famous Freemasons*, IV (Independence, Missouri: Missouri Lodge of Research, 1957), 351; George W. Baird, "Memorials to Great Men Who Were Masons: William Jenkins Worth," *The Builder*, July 1927, 210; and "Master and Apprentice: Where General William Jenkins, Worthy Mexican War Hero, Learned His Masonry," *Outlook*, November 1929. After his death, the Worth Lodge No. 210 was instituted in New York City on 27 December 1850.
106. Gonzales, "On to Cuba," and "Maj. Gen. Worth," *Picayune*, 3 September 1848, 2.
107. Denslow, *10,000 Famous Freemasons*, IV, 152.
108. Leonne Mishell Hudson, "The Life and Career of Gustavus Woodson Smith," Ph.D. dissertation, Kent State University, 1990.
109. Wallace, *Worth*, 185.
110. Gonzales, "On to Cuba."
111. Michael B. Ballard, *Pemberton: A Biography* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1991), 66-67.
112. Denslow, *10,000 Famous Freemasons*, III, 149.
113. Gonzales, "On to Cuba." When writing about these events thirty-five years later, Gonzales claimed in this article that Worth also introduced him to President James K. Polk. Yet, in a letter to Polk on 4 March 1849, Gonzales reminded the President they had been introduced in December by General Caleb Cushing. See: AJG to James K. Polk, 4 March 1849, James K. Polk Papers, Series 2, Reel 55, LC. Gonzales had a falling out with Cushing in 1854 over the latter's lost interest in Cuban annexation.
114. Gonzales, "On to Cuba," and Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Blue: Lives of the Union Commanders* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991), 38-39. During the Civil War, Henry Bohlen helped raise the 75th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry regiment in Philadelphia. He was promoted to brigadier general in April 1862 and was killed in battle four months later.
115. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 36-37.
116. Gonzales, *Manifiesto on Cuban Affairs*, 7. Worth's biographer wrongly assumed that Lt. Colonel Duncan had been the general's envoy to Havana. Wallace, *Worth*, 223 n. 2.
117. "Passengers Sailed," *New York Tribune*, 30 November 1848, 3. Sheldon Howard Harris, O'Sullivan's biographer, omits mention of this trip.
118. Denslow, *10,000 Famous Freemasons*, III, 105.
119. "Army Orders," *New York Tribune*, 1 December 1848, 2.
120. "General Worth," *New York Tribune*, 7 December 1848, 2; "Reception of General Worth," *Pittsburgh Post*, 9 December 1848, 2; *Pittsburgh Gazette*, 12 December 1848, 3; and "Gen. Worth," *New York Tribune*, 13 December 1848, 2.
121. Nicholas P. Trist to Isaac E. Holmes, 6 December 1848, James K. Polk Papers, LC.

122. *Ibid.*
123. Rauch, *American Interest in Cuba*, 101.
124. Denslow, *10,000 Famous Freemasons*, IV, 223.
125. *Ibid.*, II, 47.
126. *Ibid.*, IV, 123, 190, 208 and 306.
127. AJG to James K. Polk, 4 March 1849, James K. Polk Papers, LC.
128. *Ibid.*
129. Denslow, *10,000 Famous Freemasons*, I, 275, and III, 353-354.
130. Cushing did not see any action during the Mexican War, and entered Mexico City with a reserve battalion months after the capital had been pacified. Cushing had on his staff Cuban-born Lt. Julius Garesché. Claude M. Fuess, *The Life of Caleb Cushing*, II (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1923), 48-49, 60.
131. *Ibid.*, 79, 99.
132. *Ibid.*, 96.
133. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 36.
134. J. M. Storms to Daniel Dickenson, New York, 4 January 1849, James K. Polk Papers, LC; and John R. Dickinson, *Speeches, Correspondence, etc. of the late Daniel S. Dickson, of New York*, II (New York: G. P. Putnam & Son, 1867), 437. When citing this letter, Portell Vilá and Lewis Pinckney Jones did not indicate that this is Jane McManus Storms, also known as Cora Montgomery and Jane Cazneau.
135. Robert E. May, "Lobbyists for Commercial Empire: Jane Cazneau, William Cazneau, and U.S. Caribbean Policy, 1846-1878," *Pacific Historical Review*, August 1979, 388; and Robert E. May, "'Plenipotentiary in Petticoats': Jane M. Cazneau and American Foreign Policy in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in Edward P. Crapol, ed., *Women and American Foreign Policy: Lobbyists, Critics, and Insiders* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 25; Wallace, *Destiny and Glory*, 257-258.
136. Denslow, *10,000 Famous Freemasons*, I, 315.
137. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 171.
138. *Works of John C. Calhoun*, IV, 467.
139. "Cuban Affairs," *Charleston Mercury*, 25 August 1851, 2; and John F. H. Claiborne, *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman*, II (New York: Harper & brothers, 1860), 53.
140. John L. O'Sullivan reminded Calhoun of this phrase in a 24 August 1849 letter, in J. Franklin Jameson, ed., "Correspondence of John C. Calhoun," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association 1899* (Washington, 1900), II, 1202-03.
141. "Cuban Affairs," *Charleston Mercury*, 25 August 1851, 2.

142. Rauch, *American Interest in Cuba*, 112-113.
143. Gonzáles, "The Cuban Crusade."
144. AJG to James K. Polk, 4 March 1849, James K. Polk Papers, LC.
145. "Naturalization Laws," *New York Tribune*, 4 November 1848, 4.
146. Record Group 21, District Courts of the United States, Naturalization file for Ambrosio José Gonzales (Naturalized 26 March 1849), National Archives.
147. "Arrivals at the Principals Hotels," *Picayune*, 4 July 1848, 3.
148. "The Gardiner Claim," *Evening Picayune*, 24 July 1851, 1.
149. Spain, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Consulate, South Carolina, Charleston, *Copiadador general, 1848-1860*, 27 February 1849. Hereafter cited as Charleston Spanish Consulate Papers.
150. *Ibid.*
151. John C. Gardiner is identified as "Carlos Gardiner" in "The Gardiner Claim," *Picayune*, 24 July 1851, 1, and as "Charles Gardiner" in "Sentence, Suicide and Burial of Dr. Gardiner," *New York Times*, 6 March 1854, 5.
152. "The Cuba Invasion," *Evening Picayune*, 8 April 1850, 1.
153. "Gen. Worth," *Delta*, 23 October 1851, 2.
154. Gonzales, "On to Cuba."
155. Morales, *Iniciadores y Primeros Mártires*, II, 193.
156. Wallace, *Worth*, 185.
157. *Organization of the Lee Monument Association, Richmond, Va., Nov. 3 and 4, 1870* (Richmond: 1871), 12 pp.; Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis: A Memoir, Vol. I* (New York: Belford Company, Publishers), 411; and Hudson Strode, *Jefferson Davis: American Patriot 1808-1861* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955), 211. The date of the meeting is not precise. When Mrs. Davis wrote her memoirs forty years later, she mistakenly claimed that the encounter occurred in the summer of 1848, and that within two months López was garroted, whereas this happened two years later. While identifying López in her book, she reserved the name of Gonzales because he was still alive. Robert Caldwell believed the interview took place prior to the failure of the Round Island expedition, because it seems unlikely that Davis or Lee would have given their consideration to a project opposed by the U.S. government. Portell Vilá dated the encounter when López left Washington City for New Orleans, which would have been in February 1850, during winter. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 189. Quisenberry claimed that this offer was made to Davis and Lee after April 1851, for command of the second expedition. Anderson C. Quisenberry, *Lopez's Expeditions to Cuba 1850 and 1851* (Louisville, Ky.: John P. Morton & Company, 1906), 71.
158. Margaret Sanborn, *Robert E. Lee: A Portrait* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1966), 205; Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee: A Biography*, I (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), 307.
159. Denslow, *10,000 Famous Freemasons*, I, 291, and III, 70.

160. O.D.D.O., *History of the Late Expedition*, 60.

161. Frederick William Franck, "The Virginia Legislature at the Fauquier Springs in 1849," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, January 1950, 77, 81.

CHAPTER III

THE CUBAN CONSPIRATOR

During the first week of July, recruitment for the invasion of Cuba was openly promoted in Boston, New York, Baltimore, and in the Pelican Club House on Canal Street, New Orleans, by Colonels George W. White, Charles C. Campbell, Captain H. H. Driggs and a Colonel Biscoe.¹ White, a twenty-eight-year-old Irishman married to an English woman, had been a shopman in a linen-draper's and was a clerk in a Magazine Street dry goods store.² He had been a captain with the Louisiana Regiment in the Mexican War and had organized one thousand men in New Orleans the previous Fall, including Campbell, who suppressed an indigenous revolt on behalf of the governor of Yucatán.³

The Cuban expedition preparations were financed with \$30,000 sent to López by the Havana Club and another \$23,000 that was raised among the emigre community in New York City.⁴ Pedro de Agüero and Colonel White purchased the steamer *Fanny* in New Orleans for \$16,000, a large vessel capable of a swift twelve knots an hour.⁵ A government informant claimed that J. P. Whitney & Co., ship brokers and commission merchants on Camp Street, New Orleans, had \$250,000 on hand to finance the expedition.⁶ The firm was the agent for the steamship *Crescent City*, which carried passengers and mail between New York, Havana and New Orleans since the previous year.⁷ It was the same vessel that had taken Gonzales clandestinely to the United States.

The confidant alleged that eight hundred recruits would be embarked on the *Fanny* at Cat Island, located midway between New Orleans and Pascagoula, Mississippi, or at some other nearby point during the last week of August, for an invasion of southern Cuba.⁸ In exchange for

their services, the recruits received a one-thousand dollar bond, signed by López as "Commander in chief of the Liberating Army," and payable by the Republic of Cuba as soon as it was established.⁹ A dozen deserters later claimed that Colonel White had offered them a monthly salary of eight dollars and one thousand dollars at the end of a year. One from Mississippi alleged that White said they would have "plenty of women, liquor, and money."¹⁰

Colonel White employed three small vessels on the morning of 31 July to transfer about six hundred men from Cat Island and New Orleans, mostly Irish and Dutch immigrants, to the larger Round Island, three miles opposite Pascagoula, Mississippi. Brevet Major-General David E. Twiggs, chief of the U.S. Army Western Division headquarters at Pascagoula, sent a message that day to Secretary of War George W. Crawford regarding a conversation he just had with White. The colonel purported they were a group of emigrants headed for the California gold rush, but Twiggs had heard rumors in Pascagoula and New Orleans that it was an expedition to invade Cuba or revolutionize the Mexican States of the Sierra Madre. He therefore requested instructions from the War Department on how to proceed.¹¹ Two weeks earlier, the *Picayune* had reported that a new Spanish-language newspaper *El Pobre Diablo* [The Poor Devil] had appeared in New Orleans, and espoused the creation of an independent republic out of the Mexican territory east of the Sierra Madre.¹²

The rowdy bunch on Round Island soon slaughtered the cattle and smashed the windows of the lighthouse keeper, who the next day notified the Collector in Mobile of the events, fearing more trouble, as "they seem to do just as they please."¹³ The Collector passed the information to the local U.S. District Attorney, who on 4 August requested from Secretary of State John M. Clayton that a naval vessel from Pensacola be sent to the area.¹⁴ The following day, East

Pascagoula attorney Thomas Gibbes Morgan wrote to Logan Hunton, the U.S. District Attorney in New Orleans, that Colonel White had about three hundred men on Round Island. Some of them had visited the mainland procuring provisions and talking of effecting a revolution in Mexico or Cuba. Morgan requested Hunton to telegraph Washington of their intent to violate the law, claiming that his denunciation was motivated to avoid censure against the Administration of his "old friend General Taylor."¹⁵

Details of the expedition headed by López and Gonzales were flowing into the State Department from various sources. Interior Secretary Thomas Ewing told Clayton on 7 August that the invaders would depart for Cuba in two weeks on the steamer *Fanny*.¹⁶ Clayton also received the messages from the federal attorneys in Mobile and New Orleans, and two days later wired Spanish Minister Calderón, who was vacationing in Glenn Cove, Long Island, to return to the capital for consultation on the matter.¹⁷ Navy Secretary William B. Preston sent a secret dispatch on 9 August to Home Squadron Commander Foxhall A. Parker, in Pensacola, Florida, conveying orders from President Taylor to immediately sail his fleet to Cat Island and suppress the hostile movement against Cuba. If the expedition had already sailed, Parker was instructed to repair for Cuba and prevent their landing.¹⁸ The following day, Clayton notified the U.S. District Attorneys in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Boston that in those cities recruitment efforts were being carried out to invade Cuba and that President Taylor wanted them to investigate the matter, with the help of local authorities.¹⁹ New York District Attorney J. Prescott Hall responded a few days later that a person named McCullough had recently purchased sixty thousand army surplus muskets which might be intended for shipment to New Orleans.²⁰

Taylor issued a proclamation on 11 August warning that his Government had the duty to

abide by treaties and prevent attacks by Americans against friendly nations. Those Americans intent on the "criminal" invasion of Cuba would be subject to "heavy penalties" and forfeit all future U.S. protection no matter how extreme their situation might get. The document called on all law enforcement officers to arrest the offenders "for trial and punishment."²¹ Three days later, Navy Secretary Preston was ordering the U.S. steamer *Alleghany* in the Washington Navy Yard to proceed to Cat Island and report to Commodore Parker.²²

The commodore had already left Pensacola before receiving Preston's despatch of the 9th, on his way to Newport, Rhode Island. The commander of the Pensacola Navy Yard, who received the order on the 17th, the next day ordered the sloop of war *Albany* out to sea, and forty-eight hours later sent the steamer *War Witch* on the same mission as soon as it reached port.²³ These measures against the filibusters were known to the Spanish Consul in Charleston, South Carolina, who on the 18th chartered a schooner to deliver intelligence messages to the Captain General in Cuba.²⁴

Three days later, the Secretary of the Navy ordered the *U.S.S. Germantown*, in the Boston Navy Yard, to proceed to Havana with urgent despatches from Clayton to American Consul Robert B. Campbell. The ship then was to remain at the island to interdict the filibuster expedition.²⁵ The War Department sent out a circular on 24 August to all commanders of military forts on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts ordering the enforcement of the President's Proclamation as instructed by the U.S. District Attorney.²⁶ The next day, the *Albany*, under Captain V. M. Randolph, arrived at Horn Island, off Pascagoula, some twenty miles east of Round Island, but could not approach it closer than ten miles due to the shallow waters. Randolph informed Preston that there were from five hundred to eight hundred adventurers

encamped on Round Island, awaiting other recruits and the steamers from New Orleans to take them to Cuba or to revolutionize Mexico in cooperation with exiled former President Antonio López de Santa Anna. Randolph had ordered the *Water Witch* "to anchor off the island, and to board and search every steamer or other vessel arriving at Round Island and take possession of them should they be freighted with arms or other munitions of war; and by all means to prevent them from receiving on board the band of adventurers congregated on the island, should arms be found in their possession."²⁷ Randolph then ordered the Pensacola-based light-draft steamers *General Taylor* and *Walker*, to proceed immediately "*with guns mounted*" to Round Island.²⁸

Randolph took it upon himself, basing his actions on the Presidential Proclamation, to send the filibusters a lengthy summons on the 28th, indicating that their purpose was "*unlawful*, and that *plunder* is the inducement held out to all who embark in this reckless expedition.... You are *vagrants* in the eyes of the law, and in fact; and therefore cannot be allowed to occupy your present position, and must immediately disperse." A blockade was enforced on Round Island and the expeditionaries were given the opportunity to leave unmolested if they did not embark on sea-going vessels.²⁹ Randolph offered them free passage to Mobile and warned Colonel White against bringing the *Fanny* to Round Island. Due to the delay of the arrival of the steamers Randolph had requested from Pensacola, he notified the naval command there that the fast steamer *Creole* could be chartered for a week or two, armed with "two or three field pieces and plenty of ammunition," and manned and officered by men from the *Albany*, since sail vessels were of little use to give chase to the filibuster steamers *Fanny* or *Maria Burt* if they appeared.³⁰ Ironically, the Cubans later bought the *Creole* for another expedition. The next day, the schooner *Flirt* and the steamer *General Taylor* were added to the blockading fleet.

Commander Randolph, piqued by the denunciations against him and the navy in the New Orleans and Mobile newspapers, expressed contempt toward the mostly Irish and Dutch filibuster immigrants in a note to Navy Secretary Preston on 1 September:

It is my deliberate opinion that if a *piratical* enterprise were, or could be, projected at this point to rob upon the high seas, that more than one-half of the four hundred and fifty (450) now assembled on Round Island would instantly volunteer to take part in it. They are a terror to this neighborhood, and I have been assured by a number of the citizens of Pascagoula that they have strong fears for the safety of their lives and property, particularly as our troops have been removed from this vicinity. The civil authorities are afraid to act, and in one instance have been defied.³¹

Randolph stated that a fight on Round Island the previous night had resulted in two bad stabbings, and that a dozen "good looking" adventurers had boarded the *Albany* and requested service in the U.S. Navy, which he granted. Randolph insisted that he had protected his country from disgrace and could not believe that he would be blamed for his actions. The Navy Commandant at Pensacola disagreed, and on 3 September sent a message on the *Creole* to Randolph urging caution, since he had transcended his powers by issuing the summons.³²

The following morning, ninety starving filibusters, led by a Captain Daly, surrendered to the commander of the *Water Witch* and after receiving rations, were given passage to New Orleans on the *General Taylor*. They were dissatisfied with Colonel White, who departed Pascagoula without visiting Round Island. Commander Randolph found that one of the stab victims had died and placed his killer in the hands of Mississippi authorities, who refused to act. He was not sure if they failed to interfere out of fear or because the people and the civil authorities sympathized with the movement. Randolph wrote Secretary of the Navy Preston on 5 September that due to his blockade of Round Island, "in less than ten days from this date the whole band will disperse."³³ His prediction proved inaccurate: 350 men remained on the island

by 14 September. The number was reduced to 120 by 7 October, and the last seventy-five expeditionaries were taken to Mobile on the *Vixen* on 11 October.³⁴

The following day, the Secretary of State telegraphed two messages to New York District Attorney Hall, urging the arrest of any man or vessel engaged in the Cuban expedition, which he had learned was about to sail.³⁵ The information had come from Spanish Minister Calderón, who received it three days earlier from Gorge de Chacón, his consul in Philadelphia. The report stated that an enlistment for the Cuban expedition was occurring in that city and that the steamer *Sea Gull* would soon retrieve them and another group from Baltimore.³⁶ The vessel was seized in New York harbor, along with the steamer *New Orleans* by federal agents accompanied by fifty-four marines. Hall did not confiscate a third expeditionary ship, the *Florida*, since it was unfitted and he thought the other seizures made were "sufficient." The owners and agents of the first two vessels gave a full confession of their filibuster purposes. The *New Orleans*, chartered to C. L. Cole, was to have transported the men, while the *Sea Gull* contained 203 boxes with muskets, rifles, pistols, swords, uniforms, gunpowder and one howitzer.³⁷ The revolutionaries used this form of departure to technically claim that they had left the United States as unarmed emigrants, not as a military expedition, since the weapons would not be distributed until they were in international waters. The neutrality law of 20 April 1818, entitled, "An Act in addition to the Act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States, and to repeal the Acts therein mentioned," specified in its sixth section:

That, if any person shall, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, begin or set on foot, or provide or prepare the means for, any military expedition or enterprise, to be carried on from thence against the territory or dominions of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district or people with whom the United States are at peace, every person so offending, shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and shall be fined not exceeding three thousand dollars, and imprisoned not more than three years.³⁸

After the expedition was disbanded, the Havana Club sent López \$30,000 previously promised. Sánchez Iznaga claimed that had they received the money earlier, the endeavor would have been saved. The Taylor Administration later returned the embargoed ships and weapons to representatives of the Havana Club in New York.³⁹ The failure of this expedition further widened a growing schism between Cuban Council president Cristobal Madán and General López. Madán decided that another military leader was needed, and secretly traveled to the West to negotiate a proposition with a Colonel John Williams. Madán informed the Cuban Council in letters dated 4 and 6 November of the conditions requested by Williams, including a fund of \$8 million to organize four thousand men, and returned to New York City on the 13th.⁴⁰ The following day, Madán met with the Council, whose members signed an agreement giving Williams the rank of Major General of the expeditionary force, under the orders of the General-in-Chief and the Council of Superior Government. They also approved the negotiations Madán was making with American bankers to obtain an \$8 million credit, which would be later paid by the newly established republic. New York banker Matthew Morgan would provide \$400,000 as part of this loan.⁴¹ The Council also agreed to reimburse López \$320 for prior expenditures and refused to honor a New Orleans claim presented by Colonel White until it was substantiated.⁴²

The next day, when López heard that he had been excluded from this secret meeting, he sent his aide José Sánchez Iznaga to meet with Madán to invoke cooperation. The interview abruptly ended on a sour note when Madán stated that López "was not indispensably necessary to the Cuban cause," and insisted that Colonel Williams be military chief.⁴³ When informed of the dialogue, López impulsively wrote to Madán tendering his resignation "to all compromise with the Cuban cause," and vowed to excuse himself publicly with the Cuban people.⁴⁴ Madán

tried to avert a divisive scandal that would harm the struggle by promptly visiting López that night at his residence in 29 Howard Street, Manhattan. According to John O'Sullivan, instead of solving their differences, the encounter turned into a shouting match with mutual accusations, culminating in a cold and bitter farewell.⁴⁵

López soon realized he had been too hasty in forsaking the cause. Two days later, on 17 November, he sent Ambrosio Gonzales, who was more persuasive than Sánchez Iznaga, to offer Madán a new conciliatory proposition.⁴⁶ Gonzáles managed to negotiate a satisfactory agreement, but the next day the impetuous López sent Madán a letter rectifying his previous one. He now claimed that he only meant to abandon the cause directed in New York City by Madán and his associates and that in order to avoid "frequent conflicts" that would harm the liberation struggle, he would leave the city "as soon as possible" to seek better fortune elsewhere.⁴⁷

An irreconcilable stumbling block was that Madán insisted on creating a clandestine revolutionary organization that would not concentrate power in the hands of a military leader. Madán was careful not to publicly reveal his conspiratorial activities, fearing that the Spanish Crown might confiscate his properties in Cuba and sentence him in absentia to prison or death. He was the only Cuban exile who insisted on signing every revolutionary document with a pseudonym, *León Fragua del Calvo*. López, on the other hand, enjoyed the public limelight and possessed an authoritarian *caudillo* mentality. His confidant, Cirilo Villaverde, later said that the General "is easily led by his passions and gives great attention to gossip."⁴⁸ Besides, López had already lost everything in Cuba, and had been condemned to death nine months earlier for the Trinidad conspiracy by a military tribunal, which also issued a six-year prison term to the fugitive Sánchez Iznaga.⁴⁹ Another problem was that Madán and other wealthy landowners of the

Havana Club wanted to delay the invasion plans until after the sugar harvest, which started in December and ended in June, while López refused to abide by that schedule.

Madán and his followers met at the home of Gaspar Betancourt Cisneros on 22 November and created the bases for the clandestine Cuban Council of Organization and Government. Betancourt had never trusted or befriended López, whom he did not consider a liberator. The general's followers, in turn, repudiated Betancourt.⁵⁰ After the meeting, the council sent an appeal to López to join them. The General replied two days later that he would not be part of a group whose members preferred to remain anonymous and feared accepting "all their high public responsibilities," that he refused to further postpone invasion plans, that the Havana Club was the "dominant cause" of the Round Island expedition failure and of delaying his June insurrectional plans, and that the time called for "military action and not a civil Government" since "the concentration of power during the revolutionary crisis at the birth of Cuban independence, is the only possible guarantee allowed for the triumph of such a sacred struggle." López concluded by inviting the members of the new cabal to a public meeting he would conduct in New York City for the purpose of settling differences and establishing an energetic cooperation that would assure "adding the star of Cuba to those that shine in the glorious flag of the American Union."⁵¹

The Cuban Council of Organization and Government was formally constituted on 3 December 1848, with *León Fragua del Calvo* as President, Gaspar Betancourt Cisneros as Vice President/Treasurer, and Miguel Teurbe Tolón as Secretary.⁵² Madán and Betancourt were at the same time delegates of the Havana Club in New York. López responded two days later by creating his own Junta for Promoting the Political Interests of Cuba. A proclamation was issued,

apparently written by Gonzales, whose signature headed those of José Sánchez Iznaga, Cirilo Villaverde and Juan Manuel Macías. Copies were sent to sixteen Whig and Democrat newspapers.⁵³ The document left a blank space for the signature of Pedro de Agüero, who was in New Orleans liquidating the debts subscribed in organizing the Round Island expedition. Upon his return to New York, de Agüero instead joined Madán's Council to be with his close friends.⁵⁴

The Junta manifesto announced the formation of the group presided by López which, "without infringing on the laws of this country," would serve to channel the aid of "thousands of noble spirits" in all sections of the Union, willing to contribute to relieve the suffering of Cuba. Those interested could address their inquiries to General López at a Post Office box in Washington.⁵⁵ Spanish Minister Calderón soon informed the Captain General of Cuba of the situation.⁵⁶ Madán's fears came true when the Captain General responded to the proclamation by formally accusing of conspiracy and subversion all the signers of the Junta proclamation, along with Council members Madán, Betancourt, de Agüero and Victoriano de Arrieta.⁵⁷ Weeks later, the colonial government confiscated the paternal inheritance of Macías.⁵⁸

The growing hostility of Madán's Council is what forced López and his followers to establish their headquarters in the nation's capital.⁵⁹ According to Sánchez Iznaga, López was then reduced to living off the charity of his friends in the United States, only receiving from Cuba a thirty-dollar monthly stipend from Lieutenant Colonel José Isidoro de Armenteros.⁶⁰ Unable to promote his plans among the emigres in New York, because some of them considered López crazy, he moved with Gonzales and Sánchez Iznaga to Washington City.⁶¹ A new session of Congress had convened on 3 December, and two days later John O'Sullivan, who sided with

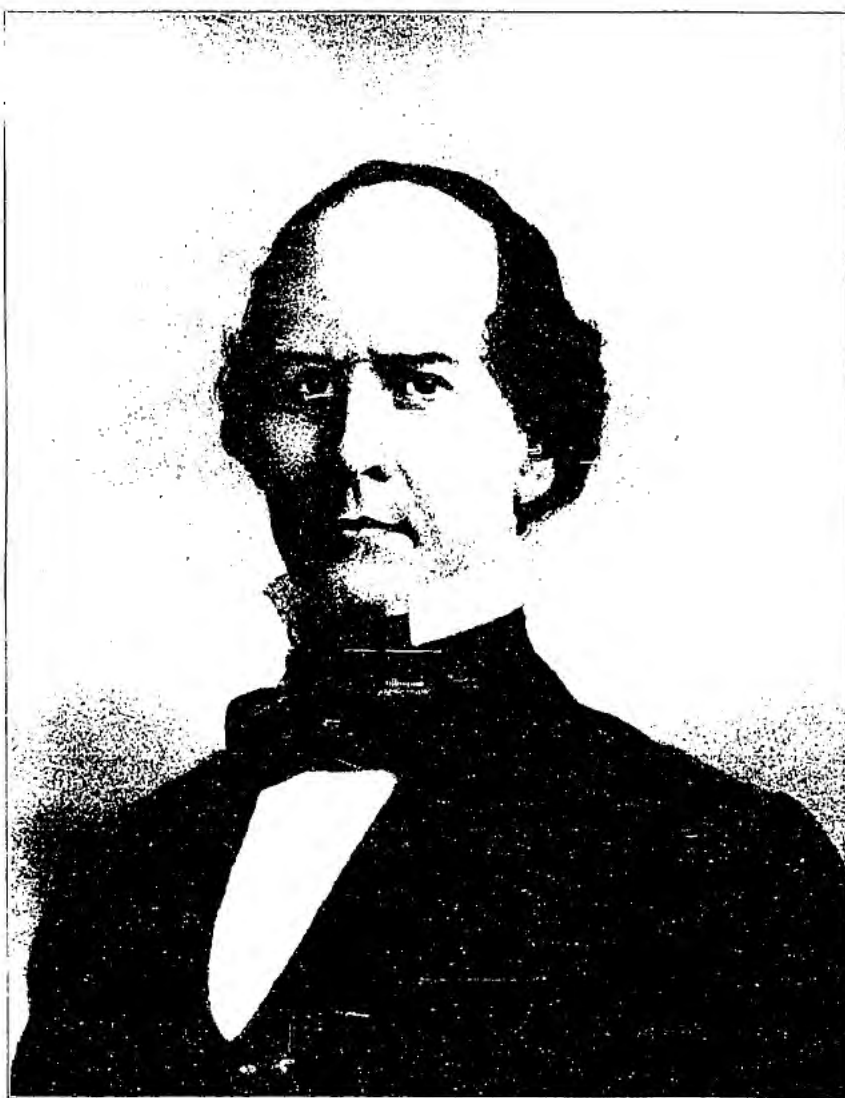
López even though he was Madán's brother-in-law, arrived at the exclusive Willard's Hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue and 14th Street.⁶² Gonzales was back in the Irving Hotel on 16 December, where he had lived the previous winter, and whose guests now included his friend Senator Dickinson.⁶³ Two days later, Colonel George White arrived at the Irving, while Madán registered at the United States Hotel.⁶⁴ White departed a few days later in search of López to settle his outstanding claim. Madán had an interview with Secretary of State Clayton, presenting a letter of introduction from Campbell, the American Consul in Havana, who described him as "a planter of this Island of large fortune, extensive connections, high respectability and integrity and probably the best informed and most intelligent gentleman to be found among the Spanish or Creole population of this Island and therefore able to furnish you with most interesting information upon all subjects connected with Cuba & her institutions."⁶⁵ Due to Madán's hostility against a López expedition during the sugar harvest season, he probably denounced the plans to Clayton and stressed his opposition to the Junta. When Gonzales heard of the meeting, he quickly told López about it.⁶⁶

O'Sullivan was back in New York on 21 December when he wrote de Agüero in New Orleans the details of the definite split between Madán and López and the failed overtures made by Gonzales.⁶⁷ That same evening, Gonzales went to a White House reception with three friends of the First Family, prompting icy stares from the Spanish diplomats present. The Cuban was introduced to fifty-three-year-old John Henderson, a former Mississippi Whig Senator, brigadier general of the state militia and freemason.⁶⁸ After exchanging the secret masonic greeting, Henderson arranged to meet Gonzales at the White House two days later for further consultation. Hours before seeing Henderson, Gonzales met with Jane Storms, who presented him to

sympathetic Congressmen. Gonzales later gave Henderson a "precise" account of his revolutionary plans, and the Mississippian indicated that they could count on his help in New Orleans.⁶⁹ Henderson was a political ally of General John Anthony Quitman, elected Governor of Mississippi the previous month and a strong supporter of Calhoun's doctrines favoring slavery and states' rights.⁷⁰

A few days after the Henderson meeting, Gonzales was approached by three Mexican War veterans: twenty-nine-year-old Colonel Theodore O'Hara, a Louisville attorney and editor;⁷¹ twenty-seven-year-old Lieutenant Colonel John T. Pickett, a Kentucky attorney and United States Consul on Turk's Island;⁷² and Major Thomas Hawkins, who offered to raise and pay for a regiment of Kentuckians for a Cuban expedition.⁷³ All agreed to later meet with López in Louisville. At the request of Gonzales, General López joined him at the Irving Hotel on 29 December, arriving with Juan Macías, John Carlos Gardiner and Colonel White.⁷⁴ On New Year's Day, John O'Sullivan and Kentuckian filibuster Lieutenant R. Triplett reached Washington.⁷⁵ Villaverde and Doctor George A. Gardiner joined them within two days.⁷⁶

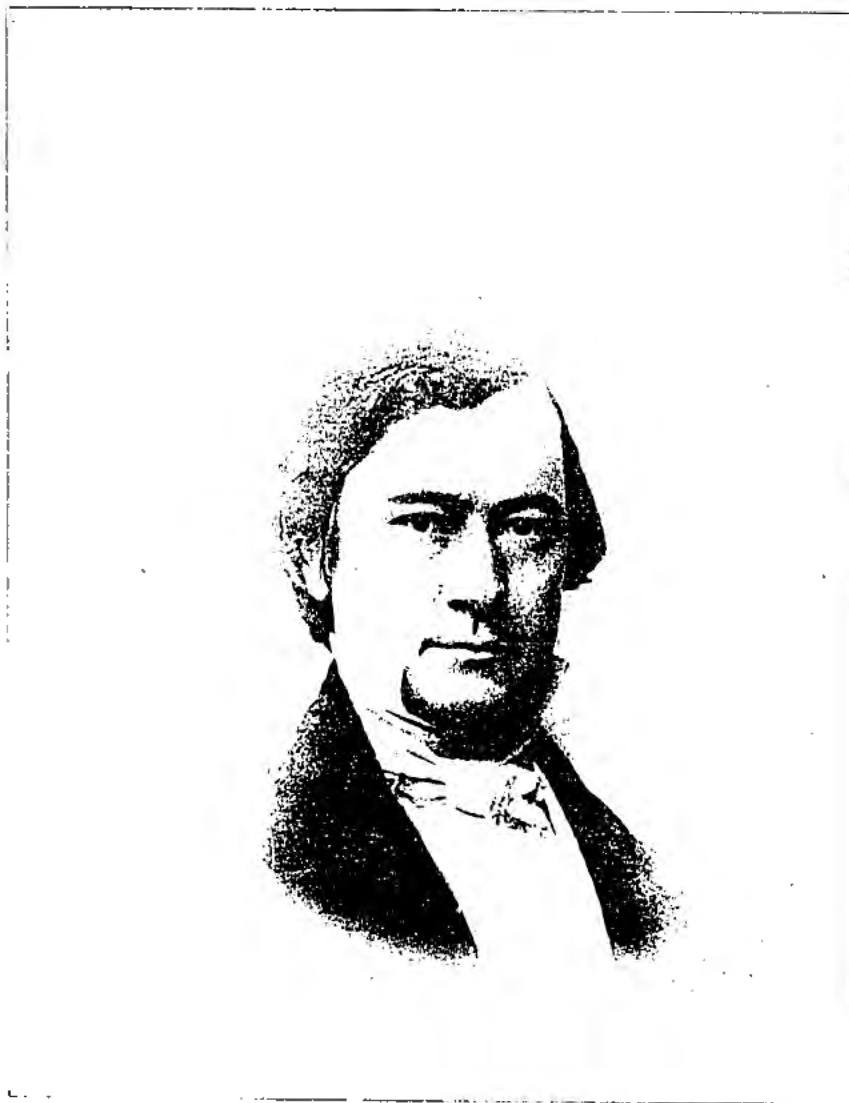
Four Cubans converged on the Willard Hotel on 8 January 1850, where O'Sullivan had returned three days earlier after a trip to New York. Cuban Council member Antonio Yznaga del Valle arrived from Louisiana; José A. Portocarrero and Pedro Ysuaque of Havana; and G. J. Martínez from New York. Another New Yorker who appeared in the capital that day was shipping magnate George Law, a filibuster financier.⁷⁷ One of the Havana visitors met with Senator Sam Houston of Texas and told him that the Cuban people were "very impatient to start the revolution," and that the landing of a popular leader with only five hundred men would be enough to start it. Houston passed this information to the López group.⁷⁸



COLONEL THEODORE O'HARA.



COLONEL JOHN T. PICKETT.



COLONEL THOMAS T. HAWKINS.

A week later, seven exiled Hungarian revolutionaries, led by Colonel László Ujházy, registered at the Irving Hotel.⁷⁹ Among them was Colonel Janos Pragay, who the following year replaced Gonzales as second-in-command of the last López expedition to Cuba. This convergence of filibusters indicates that their plans seemed to be in the final stages.

These activities did not go unnoticed by the adroit Spanish Minister in Washington who, through his espionage network, was better informed of filibuster plans than the American Government. Calderón complained to Secretary Clayton on 19 January that the Junta leaders, "a small number of individuals without responsibility or mission, giving themselves out as Cubans," were secretly introducing into the island insurrectional proclamations, were selling bonds to pay recruits and were training with weapons and holding meetings in New York, New Orleans and other places, with the encouragement and assistance of American citizens. The dispatch concluded that United States-Spanish relations would be strained unless a respected voice of authority gave a warning to those Americans being dangerously misled.⁸⁰ Calderón was apparently asking for another Presidential Proclamation against filibusters. Instead, Taylor instructed Clayton to inform the federal attorneys in New York, Washington and New Orleans "to keep a vigilant watch" against such activities.⁸¹ This was a moot point with the Madán Council, which had decided the previous month not to prepare another expedition until Taylor's term expired.⁸² Madán had met in Washington in January with Colonel John S. Williams to inform him that the Council had revoked the agreement to continue paying his travel expenses.⁸³ Madán also held an interview with annexation supporter Senator Dickinson in the Irving Hotel and spoke "in terms of decided disapprobation of the anticipated López or other expedition against that Island."⁸⁴

The revolutionary conspirators in Washington had gone their separate ways by mid-January. The General was back in New York, and Villaverde joined him after a stay in Baltimore.⁸⁵ In response to a letter López received from Havana Club Secretary Echevarría, asking the emigré groups to unite in common cause, the general wrote to Madán on 21 January asking that both organizations voluntarily dissolve and its members fuse into a new group. He claimed that two of his agents [one being Juan Villaverde, Cirilo's brother] in the Vuelta Abajo region of western Cuba had more than 2,000 armed men awaiting the uprising, that fifty of his proclamations had been distributed to the soldiers in Matanzas, that he had personally appealed in writing to seventeen of his former sergeants to join the revolt, and that he had access to a steamer and 500 rifles. López said he was headed South, where a "very distinguished Southerner" had strongly urged him to waste no time going there, where a loan of \$300,000 to \$400,000 could be raised in ten days, and there were abundant arms and munitions available. He was referring to John Henderson, who later testified that he had first met López in Washington in January.⁸⁶ López offered Madán to incorporate into his expedition the two American colonels negotiating with the Council, under orders of "an American general of renown capacity and distinction," apparently Mexican War General John Anthony Quitman, who eleven days earlier had been sworn in as Mississippi governor. López ended his letter to Madán saying that the expedition would leave as soon as possible, but if urgent news arrived from Cuba, he would "march immediately, with whatever force available at the moment, even going alone if need be."⁸⁷ This reckless precipitation in his character would have grave consequences for López eighteen months later.

The Council met on 24 January to consider the general's proposition. José Aniceto Iznaga

indicated that within the past fifteen months, two insurrectionary efforts headed by López had been frustrated, and to avoid a third failure, the next expedition should be orchestrated by a junta leadership and not by a single person. He added that the wealthy Cuban landowners would have to form part of this plan, because they would provide the necessary funds and inspire ample confidence in the cause that would influence the U.S. Government not to intervene. Madán suggested renewing the previous Council offer that López command their future expedition. The greatest opposition to the López proposal was from Victoriano de Arrieta, who said that López coveted being president of the new republic and that members of his Junta had "criminal aspirations."⁸⁸

Madán, under the pseudonym *León Fragua de Calvo*, sent a reply to López two days later on behalf of the Council, indicating that his recent propositions were inadmissible, since their statutes prohibited the dissolution of their organization and the incorporation of Junta members. Madán added that "It is likewise contrary to reason and the acknowledged principles of political law to form the basis of a constitution for a slave holding country without the concurrence of some slave holders."⁸⁹ Madán renewed their proposal of 10 December, offering López command of a Liberating Expedition as long as he would "agree to abide by the organization and direction" of the Council. The letter stated that prior costly failures indicated that greater caution was needed and the Council would not precipitate its plans due to "premature and fallacious offers" from the island, such as the two thousand armed insurgents awaiting in Vuelta Abajo. The document warned López that his determination to disembark in Cuba, without adequate strength and organization and lacking the support of the landowners, would be a "desperate act" resulting in "disastrous consequences" for all. The Council begged López to suspend his actions on behalf

of the Cuban cause, lest the civilized world someday hold him accountable for not having listened to their warning.⁹⁰

López replied on 28 January in an "insulting and sneering" manner, stressing that he was determined more than ever to carry out his revolutionary struggle. He asked the Council, for the fourth and final time, to provide him with the remnants of the Round Island expedition, which included a steamer, 750 muskets, 200 rifles, a mountain howitzer with its ammunition, 100 six-shot revolvers, 100 sabers, 800 lances, 100,000 bullets, 1,300 cartridge belts, 1,320 shirts and an equal number of plumed hats. López claimed this was all "property of Cuba," and to retain it when it was urgently needed by the populace yearning for freedom would be "an abominable and criminal usurpation."⁹¹ Three days later, the Council denied his petition. Bitter correspondence was exchanged daily between López and Madán, which ended on 2 February when López wrote that after establishing a provisional Government in Cuba, he would not be responsible for the liberation loans contracted by the Council and the Havana Club on behalf of the new republic.⁹² The Council then sent Arrieta to Madrid to attempt to influence the sale of Cuba to the United States through sympathetic editors and politicians.⁹³

López departed New York for Washington City, arriving on 5 February at the Irving Hotel,⁹⁴ where Doctor Gardiner had registered five days earlier.⁹⁵ Among the guests checking into the Willard Hotel twelve days later were John O'Sullivan and Frederick Henry Quitman, son of the Mississippi governor.⁹⁶ O'Sullivan had brought with him copies of the latest issue of the *Democratic Review* in which he had just published a laudatory sixteen-page biography of General López, and indicated that "His plan for Cuba has always been Independence and Annexation to the American Union."⁹⁷ That same day, López wrote to Macías in New York that Madán had

been in Washington, meeting with bankers and politicians, referring to him as needless, "imbecile, crazy and other similar things," without any support in Cuba.⁹⁸ Madán tried to further frustrate the Junta plans by writing a week later from New York to Governor Quitman, identifying himself as the representative of the Havana Club. He offered to raise at once "no less than one million" dollars if Quitman accepted to lead an expedition of at least four thousand men "to carry to the island of Cuba republican institutions, with a view to her annexation to the United States."⁹⁹ Madán warned that the "impetuous anxiety" of General López to disembark on Cuba would spoil all the desired "elements of success and order," but that López would join the endeavor if he knew that Quitman was in charge. Madán also stressed that Quitman's role would serve Southern conservative interests, which he identified with as dearly as the annexation of Cuba.¹⁰⁰ Madán knew that López was on his way to offer Quitman the command of the invasion force, and his lavish offer was intended to compromise Quitman into rejecting the Junta. The Madán offer lacked clout, since the Council began splintering after the Havana Club requested in mid-February that they make another attempt to reconcile with López.¹⁰¹

Meanwhile, López, Gonzales and O'Sullivan, met in the Capitol Hall of Columns with a group of senators, including Mississippi Democrats Jefferson Davis and Henry Foote. The legislators used arguments espoused by Madán in trying to discourage their filibuster plans. When Foote made comments to O'Sullivan only known to Madán, O'Sullivan felt betrayed and "cried like a child." López suddenly got up and told Gonzales to inform the senators that they were obviously under the influence of a "malignant person," and that he hoped that time would show them who Madán really was.¹⁰²

Gonzales and López soon departed for Baltimore, from where the General wrote on 20

February to Macías and Villaverde in New York, that O'Sullivan would inform them of everything that had transpired. López asked his collaborators to send him at least \$300 for personal expenses, addressed to New Orleans under his pseudonym "N. de Oriola."¹⁰³ Soon after they left Washington, the Spanish Minister was informed by his spy network that López was headed South. Calderón passed this information on 24 February to the Captain General in Cuba and asked his Consul in Charleston to be on the lookout for López.¹⁰⁴

Gonzales and López left Baltimore on the railroad and stagecoach route to Pittsburgh, where they boarded an Ohio River steamer for a three-day voyage to Louisville, Kentucky.¹⁰⁵ On the night of 26 February, López signed as "N. de Oriola" in the Louisville Hotel registry and Gonzales penned his own name.¹⁰⁶ The next day, the Cubans held a meeting with Theodore O'Hara, approving his plans for raising a skeleton regiment that would be completed with volunteers from the island after disembarkment. The expatriates then sailed down the Mississippi River, stopping at Vicksburg, Mississippi, where López remained while Gonzales went to New Orleans and met with John Henderson. The fifty-three-year-old Henderson lived in a \$10,000 estate in the Gulf port of Pass Christian, Mississippi, with his wife and two children, and the local Assistant Marshall, Louis J. Tourniquet, and his wife, who were possibly New York relatives of Mrs. Henderson.¹⁰⁷ General Henderson commuted by steamer to his law office on 16 St. Charles Avenue in New Orleans, which he shared with his thirty-two-year-old attorney son John Henderson Jr., a resident in the Emmons boarding house in Pass Christian.¹⁰⁸ Henderson introduced Gonzales to prominent annexation sympathizers in New Orleans, including attorney Laurent Sigur, editor of the *New Orleans Delta*.¹⁰⁹

While Gonzales was in New Orleans, the Spanish Consul José Ygnacio Laborde, wrote

to U.S. District Attorney Logan Hunton on 5 March "that certain persons are gathering and procuring arms, and other implements of war, and the intention of forming an expedition to invade the Island of Cuba," and mistakenly claimed that the Round Island steamers *Fanny* and *Mary Burke*, lying at the port, were intended for that purpose. Hunton replied the next day that he would prosecute anyone committing a related overt act.¹¹⁰

Eleven days later, Henderson went with Gonzales to meet López in Vicksburg and he provided \$300 for their immediate expenses. The next day, 17 March, the trio took the Vicksburg and Jackson Railroad to the state capital, where they met with Governor John Anthony Quitman at the Executive Mansion. Although Quitman's biographers do not cite a prior introduction to the Cubans,¹¹¹ Portell Vilá claimed it had occurred in Washington, but did not provide the date.¹¹²

The fifty-year-old Quitman, son of a Lutheran minister, had graduated from Hartwick Seminary in his native New York, before studying law in Ohio. In 1821, he moved to Natchez, Mississippi, became a planter and married the daughter of a prominent citizen. Six years later, he was elected as a Democrat to the state legislature and in 1835 presided over the state senate. Quitman, who owned several plantations and many slaves, politically identified with the states' rights nullifiers. In 1836 he organized a company to fight for Texas independence, was later appointed major general of Mississippi militia. When the Mexican War began, Quitman was commissioned brigadier general by President Polk. He was in the battle of Monterrey and led the bloody assaults on Chapultepec Castle and Belen Gate which prompted the surrender of Mexico City. He later gave Polk a detailed plan for the permanent occupation of Mexico. Congress awarded Quitman the brevet of major general and a sword, and Mississippi gave him the

governorship, which he assumed on 10 January 1850.¹¹³

Quitman was also regarded as the "Father of Mississippi Masonry."¹¹⁴ He was Grand Sovereign of South West, Grand Inspector General of the 33rd Degree of the Southern Division of the United States, for the State of Mississippi, and a founder of the Supreme Council. Quitman was also an honorary member of the Grand Lodge of South Carolina and the Grand Lodge of New York. He had been elected Grand Master of his state from 1826 to 1838, guiding the fraternity through the turbulent Anti-Masonic era. As the persecution frenzy peaked in 1833, only two of the sixteen chartered lodges in Mississippi were represented at the opening session of the Grand Lodge and more than half had disappeared from the roll. There was rapid masonic expansion when Quitman was again reelected Grand Master in 1840, 1845 and 1846, when he departed for Mexico. In his honor, Quitman U.D. Lodge was established in 1847 by American troops in Veracruz, Mexico, and there was also a Quitman Lodge No. 76 in New Orleans. By 1850, masonic lodges had increased in Mississippi to nearly one hundred.¹¹⁵ Quitman was well aware of the oppression of Cuban freemasonry by the Catholic Crown and personally related to how it affected Gonzales and López, who had identified themselves to him as freemasons through international ritualistic secret handshakes and phrases.

Other freemasons present at the meeting with the Cubans included the three justices of the High Court of Errors and Appeals, Chief Justice William L. Sharkey, Judge Samuel S. Boyd, and Judge Cotesworth Pinckney Smith.¹¹⁶ The fifty-three-year-old Sharkey was a veteran of the battle of New Orleans. An Old Line Whig state legislator, he was later elected to the bench on four successive terms. Sharkey had been chosen the previous year to preside over the convention of Southern states scheduled for June in Nashville to discuss the issue of slavery in the

territories.¹¹⁷ Boyd had arrived from Maine twenty years earlier and gained prominence as a lawyer.¹¹⁸ The fifty-four-year-old Smith, like Henderson, had started his law practice in Wilkinson County. He was later elected Whig state representative and senator before serving on the bench.¹¹⁹

The Cubans offered Quitman in writing "The office and powers of general-in-chief of the organization, movement, and operations of all the military and naval force which shall or may be employed in behalf of the contemplated revolution."¹²⁰ In the document, written by Gonzales, López consented to act as second in military command to Quitman, who would be financially rewarded for his services, along with all other American expeditionaries. The letter also stated that, "To give better assurance to these propositions, it is intended that General López shall repair to Cuba with all dispatch, and at once raise the standard of Cuban independence, and will, from the field of revolution, furnish General Quitman [proof] that the people of Cuba approve these suggestions, and will welcome his presence to aid their cause as herein indicated".¹²¹ Quitman was verbally promised one million dollars and an army of four thousand for the expedition.¹²² The Mississippi Supreme Court judges provided legal opinions on ways to circumvent the federal Neutrality Law. A map of Cuba was spread on the conference table and Quitman gave tactical military advice.¹²³ Another topic discussed was the quarrel between the Council and the Junta and how to respond to the proposition Madán had sent to Quitman in February to command a military expedition, so that both organizations could act in unison. In spite of the urging of his friends to command the expedition, Quitman concluded that he "could not engage until the people of Cuba, by their own free act, should first erect the standard of Independence,"¹²⁴ as had occurred in Texas. The governor responded the next day that his

"devotion to the cause of civil liberty, and to the extension of the glorious republican principles of our government to the adjoining states of America" strongly urged him to accept their proposals, but that his duties to the state temporarily restricted him. He then added, "It is possible, however, that, after a short period, these obligations, which my sense of duty now imposes on me, will cease to exist. In that event, should circumstances be favorable, I should be disposed to accept your proposals."¹²⁵ Quitman then verbally agreed to meet the Cubans in New Orleans in fifteen days for a secret purpose.¹²⁶ Gonzales wrote the governor from Natchez on 20 March that he and López accepted his terms of landing in Cuba after the flag of independence had been raised, and that they no longer objected to Madán and his compeers cooperating anonymously if they joined the belligerent effort. He added that López would remain there for a few days, that Henderson was departing that evening for neighboring Wilkinson county [where he had started his law practice] and that he was sailing directly to New Orleans, where Quitman could safely write to him by addressing the initials A.J.G., to Post Office Box S 154.¹²⁷

Gonzales believed that the independence of his homeland was imminent. The Cuban exile revolutionary movement had overcome a number of difficult obstacles during the previous nine months. These included a Presidential Proclamation against their plans from a hostile Whig Administration and personality conflicts among the expatriates that created opposing political groups even before the republic was born. This had left Gonzales and the López faction without funds or weapons to continue their struggle. The sectional issue over the acquisition of slave territory, which had alienated the Whigs against them, now provided the militancy the movement needed, with a commitment from Henderson, Quitman and other Southern expansionists to facilitate the funds, weapons and volunteers needed to invade Cuba. Freemasonry also played a

a bonding role between the Cuban and American conspirators. Some stumbling blocks remained, such as the ability of the Spanish diplomatic espionage network and the informants of the American government to frustrate their plans. Gonzales and other conspirators would have to be more cautious to avoid another failure like the Round Island expedition.

NOTES

1. T. Ewing to Clayton, 7 August 1849, John Middleton Clayton Papers, Vol. 5, LC; and United States Senate, Executive Document 57, *Message of the President of the United States, Transmitting Reports from the several Heads of Department relative to the subject of the Resolution of the Senate of the 23d of May, as to alleged revolutionary movements in Cuba*, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 67, 69, 101.
2. Wilson, *An Authentic Narrative*, 4-5; 1850 Louisiana Free Census, Third District in Orleans Parish, 281; and *Cohen's New Orleans and Lafayette Directory, 1851* (New Orleans: The Daily Delta, 1851), 198. George W. White was erroneously identified as "Joseph A. White" in Wallace, *Destiny and Glory*, 40-46, 58-59, and as "Robert M. White" in Brown, *Agents of Manifest Destiny*, 37.
3. "American Soldiers for the Mexican Army," *New York Tribune*, 24 October 1848, 2; *New York Tribune* 28 November 1848, 1; and "Volunteers for Yucatan," *New York Tribune*, 8 December 1848, 2.
4. Morales, *Iniciadores y primeros mártires*, II, 194-195.
5. U.S. Senate, Ex. Doc. 57, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 88.
6. *Ibid.*, 6. Portell Vilá erroneously assumed that Whitney & Co. were bankers who might have some expeditionary funds on deposit, but never the large sum of \$250,000, as recruiting contracts were to be paid after landing in Cuba. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 172-173.
7. J. P. Whitney & Co. advertisement, *Picayune*, 20 July 1848, 1; New Orleans, Record of Corporation License, 1847-1852, 9 March 1848, Duke University Library; and *New Orleans Directory, 1851*, 199.
8. U.S. Senate, Executive Document 57, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 6, 67.
9. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 171.
10. U.S. Senate, Ex. Doc. 57, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 57.
11. *Ibid.*, 51.
12. *Picayune*, 13 July 1848, 2.
13. U.S. Senate, Ex. Doc. 57, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 4.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*, 5-6.
16. Ewing to Clayton, 7 August 1849, John Middleton Clayton Papers, Vol. 5, LC.
17. U.S. Senate, Ex. Doc. 57, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 7.
18. *Ibid.*, 67-68.
19. *Ibid.*, 7-8.

20. *Ibid.*, 9-10.
21. *Ibid.*, 8.
22. *Ibid.*, 69-70.
23. *Ibid.*, 72, 81-82.
24. *Ibid.*, 13.
25. *Ibid.*, 71.
26. *Ibid.*, 52-53.
27. *Ibid.*, 74.
28. *Ibid.*, 76.
29. *Ibid.*, 78-79.
30. *Ibid.*, 79-80.
31. *Ibid.*, 87.
32. *Ibid.*, 90.
33. *Ibid.*, 90-91.
34. Portell Vila, *Narciso Lopez*, II, 176-177.
35. U.S. Senate, Ex. Doc. 57, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 14.
36. *Ibid.*, 18-19.
37. *Ibid.*, 15-18.
38. *Ibid.*, 6.
39. Morales, *Iniciadores y primeros mártires*, II, 194-195.
40. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 450-451.
41. *Ibid.*, 86.
42. *Ibid.*, 452. The Cuban Council document was signed by Madán under the pseudonym *León Fragua del Calvo*, Cirilo Villaverde, Pedro Iznaga Hernández, Gaspar Agramonte, José R. Posse, Ignacio Mora, José Andrés Iznaga, Pedro M. Sánchez Iznaga, Gaspar Betancourt Cisneros, Victoriano de Arrieta, Tomás D. del Rijo and Miguel Teurbe Tolón.
43. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 74, and 450, n. 135.

44. *Ibid.*, 457, n. 158.
45. *Ibid.*, 94.
46. *Ibid.*, 75, 95.
47. *Ibid.*, 458, n. 161.
48. *Ibid.*, 75.
49. Morales, *Iniciadores y primeros mártires*, II, 21.
50. *Ibid.* 57-58.
51. *Ibid.*, 78-79.
52. Other members of the Council included José Aniceto Iznaga, Ignacio Morales, Pedro M. Sánchez Iznaga, José R. Posse, Cayetano V. de Quesada, Esteban de Ayala, Francisco Castillo, Gaspar Agramonte, Carlos de Arteaga, Miguel and Pedro de Agüero, Tomás D. del Rijo, Pedro José Iznaga, Alonso Betancourt, Antonio Iznaga del Valie, Porfirio Jardines, Victoriano de Arrieta, Plutarco González and Francisco T. Vingut. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 455.
53. "Cuba," *The Daily Union* (Washington), 9 December 1849, 3 and *The Republic* (Washington) 10 December 1849, 2. Other newspapers receiving the proclamation were the *Sun*, *Evening Post*, *Herald* and *Tribune* on New York, and the two Cuban emigré publications in that city, *La Verdad* and *El Correo de los dos Mundos*; the *Whig* and *Enquirer* of Richmond; the *Courier* and *Mercury* of Charleston; the *Chronicle* and *Journal* of Louisville; and the *Delta* and *Picayune* of New Orleans.
54. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 96-97.
55. "Cuba," *Washington Union*, 9 December 1849, 3.
56. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 84.
57. Gonzales, *Manifesto on Cuban Affairs*, 9, reproduces the sentence of the Permanent Military Committee of the Council of War for the Island of Cuba.
58. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 118.
59. "Cuba," *The Daily Union* (Washington, D.C.), 9 December 1849, 3; and Morales, *Iniciadores y primeros mártires*, II, 195.
60. *Ibid.*, 193.
61. *Ibid.*, 193-194.
62. "Arrivals at the hotels," *The Republic*, 6 December 1849, 3.
63. *Ibid.*, 17 December 1849, 3.

64. *Ibid.*, 19 December 1849, 3. Portell Vilá claimed that Madán had gone to Washington City on 13 December with Gaspar Betancourt Cisneros and Victoriano de Arrieta for an interview with Colonel John S. Williams, who had been offered the leadership of the Council expedition. Hotel arrival schedules fail to substantiate this. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 98.
65. Robert B. Campbell to John M. Clayton, 22 June 1849, John Middleton Clayton Papers, LC.
66. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 97.
67. *Ibid.*, 450-451.
68. Joint Committee on Printing, Congress of the United States, *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774-1989* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1989), 1171; and Denslow, *10,000 Famous Freemasons*, II, 214.
69. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 97; and Gonzales, "On to Cuba."
70. Dunbar Rowland, *Mississippi*, I (Atlanta: Southern Historical Publishing Association, 1907), 858; and Robert E. May, *John A. Quitman: Old South Crusader* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985), 65.
71. Theodore O'Hara Papers, The Filson Club, Louisville, Kentucky; "Col. Theodore O'Hara," *The Atlanta Journal*, 29 May 1897, 15-16; Jennie C. Morton, "Theodore O'Hara," *Register of Kentucky State Historical Society*, September 1903, 49; J. Stoddard Johnston, "Sketch of Theodore O'Hara," *Ibid.*, September 1913, 67; Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography*, VII, 4-5; *The National Cyclopedic of American Biography*, IV, 362; Edgar Erskine Hume, "Colonel Theodore O'Hara and Cuban Independence," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, May 1937, 364; Richard H. Collins, *History of Kentucky*, I (Frankfort, Ky.: Kentucky Historical Society, 1966), 410-411; and Richard P. Weinert, "The 'Hard Fortune' of Theodore O'Hara," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, Spring/Summer 1966, 33.
72. Collins, *History of Kentucky*, II, 587; *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Kentucky of the Dead and Living Men of the Nineteenth Century* (Cincinnati: J. M. Armstrong & Company, 1878), 593; W. M. Paxton, *The Marshall Family* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1885), 56; and Stewart Sifakis, *Who Was Who in the Civil War* (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1988), 506.
73. Gonzales, "On To Cuba," 9.
74. "Arrivals at the hotels," *The Republic*, 30 December 1849, 2.
75. *Ibid.*, 2 January 1850, 3.
76. *Ibid.*, 3 and 4 January 1850, 3.
77. *Ibid.*, 9 January 1850, 3.
78. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 100.
79. "Arrivals at the hotels," *The Republic*, 15 January 1850, 3.
80. U.S. Senate, Ex. Doc. 57, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 19-20.
81. *Ibid.*, 21.

82. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 90.
83. *Ibid.*, 98.
84. D. S. Dickinson to Daniel Webster, 22 February 1851, State Department Miscellaneous Letters, NA.
85. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 91.
86. "Examination of Gen. Lopez," *Picayune*, 11 June 1850, 1. Basil Rauch erroneously surmised that the "discouragement" that Lopez encountered in Washington is what forced him to move to New Orleans. Rauch, *American Interest in Cuba*, 122-123.
87. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 100-102.
88. *Ibid.*, 103-107.
89. An English-version of this letter was later provided to General John A. Quitman by Ambrosio Gonzales. See "Translation of the address of the Council in January 1850," John A. Quitman Papers, box 3, folder 1, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi, from now on cited as MDA.
90. *Ibid.*
91. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 113-114.
92. *Ibid.*, 116-117.
93. *Ibid.*, 148.
94. "Arrivals at the Hotels," *The Republic*, 6 February 1850, 3.
95. *Ibid.*, 1 February 1850, 3.
96. *Ibid.*, 18 February 1850, 3.
97. "General Lopez, The Cuban Patriot," *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, 105.
98. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 119.
99. John F. H. Claiborne, *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman, major-general, U.S.A., and governor of the state of Mississippi*, II (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1860), 381-383. Since Claiborne did not identify the Cuban who wrote this February 1850 letter to Quitman, and Madan used his "Leon Fragua de Calvo" pseudonym, some historians have overlooked this detail. Rauch, *American Interest in Cuba*, 124. Portell Vilá correctly identified the writer as Madán.
100. Claiborne, *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman*, 383.
101. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 119-121.
102. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, I, 202. This account is taken from the Cirilo Villaverde Diary, which erroneously dates the meeting in March 1850.

103. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 470-471.
104. *Copiadador general, 1841-1860*, 1 March 1850, Spanish Consulate Papers, Charleston.
105. Gonzales, "On to Cuba."
106. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 219, 471.
107. 1850 Mississippi Census, Free Schedules, reel 372, Harrison County, 86.
108. *Ibid.*, 80; and *New Orleans Directory, 1851*, 89.
109. Gonzales, "On to Cuba;" and Morales, *Iniciadores y primeros mártires*, II, 195.
110. U.S. Senate, Ex. Doc. 57, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 26.
111. Claiborne, *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman*, and May, *Quitman*.
112. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 123. Josef Opatny, who used the Portell Vilá work extensively, also claimed that the first meeting between Quitman and López was in 1849. Opatny, *U.S. Expansionism and Cuban Annexationism*, 216.
113. Quitman biographical data can be found in Claiborne, *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman*, and May, *Quitman*.
114. Denslow, *10,000 Famous Freemasons*, IV, 3.
115. Robert Freke Gould, *et. al.*, *The History of Freemasonry*, IV (New York: John C. Yorston & Co., Publishers, 1889), 489-490; Albert Pike, "John Anthony Quitman," *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Mississippi, Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons* (Jackson, Miss.: Clarion Steam Printing Establishment, 1882), x-xvi, 626; "Quitman Lodge No. 76," *Delta* 3 January 1851, 3; Vicksburg Council No. 2, to John A. Quitman, 27 February 1850, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA; and Francis Gildart, *et. al.*, to John A. Quitman, 7 September 1850, *Ibid.*
116. Gonzales, "On to Cuba."
117. Dunbar Rowland, *Courts, Judges, and Lawyers of Mississippi 1798-1935* (Jackson, Miss.: Press of Hederman Bros., 1935), 87-89; and *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi*, I (Chicago: The Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1891), 126.
118. Rowland, *Mississippi*, I, 285; and *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi*, I, 416-417.
119. In 1861 Cotesworth Pinckney Smith was appointed to the staff of General Reuben Davis, commanding Corinth, and died on 11 November 1862. Rowland, *Courts, Judges, and Lawyers of Mississippi 1798-1935*, 92-94; and *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi*, I, 126.
120. Claiborne, *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman*, 383-385.
121. *Ibid.*
122. May, *Quitman*, 238.

123. Claiborne, *Quitman*, II, 57-58, 383-385.
124. AJG to John A. Quitman, 20 March 1850, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
125. *Ibid.*
126. AJG to John A. Quitman, 23 March 1850, *Ibid.*
127. AJG to John A. Quitman, 20 March 1850, *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IV

THE FREEDOM FIGHTER

When Gonzales arrived in New Orleans, the city was the largest Gulf port, with a population of 145,000 divided into various groups and crowded into three separate districts. The Creoles were the descendants of the French and Spanish families of the colonial period, living in the central First Municipality, or French Quarter, and generally voted Democrat. Anglo-Americans comprised the second group, migrating there after the 1803 Louisiana Purchase. They supported the Whigs and dwelt in the Second Municipality, on the west side of Canal Street, which is still the French and American boundary. Newly arrived Irish and German immigrants settled in the Third Municipality, east of Esplanade Avenue, which also contained many Creoles. Each municipality had a governing council presided over by a recorder.¹ The city of Lafayette was located on the western suburb of the Second Municipality. Two years later, when New Orleans was rearranged into districts, Lafayette was annexed as the Fourth District. This municipal division would influence filibustering activities and the empaneling of juries during the future filibuster trials.

Two days after arriving in the Crescent City, Gonzales informed Quitman that they faced a three-week delay in sailing, and that the governor's presence in the city at the time was of "incalculable value." He added that he had received "cheering news" from California, which he was transmitting to López, and that he would provide the details to Quitman when they would personally meet in New Orleans. Gonzales asked the governor to appeal to his personal friends to raise a reserve in Mississippi in case a deficiency in volunteers occurred at the last moment. He enclosed articles from New York newspapers indicating that the future expedition was going

to rendezvous in San Domingue, an error that he regarded as bettering their odds, as it would divert the Spanish navy.²

As a result of the rumors, the U.S. Home Squadron visiting Jamaica was ordered to sail to Havana and the British war steamer *Vixen* at that port was temporarily placed under the orders of American Commodore Parker for the filibuster intercepting mission. The twenty thousand Spanish troops scattered throughout the island were placed on alert, especially in the Trinidad region, where López had plotted his first insurrection.³

Other misinformation reached New Orleans Spanish Consul Juan Ignacio Laborde, who on 25 March complained to U. S. District Attorney Logan Hunton and to Collector Samuel T. Peters that the schooner *Heroine*, chartered for Chagres, had filed a false manifest and was carrying Cuban filibuster weapons and artillery. The federal authorities raided the vessel, but found only passengers and twenty barrels of butter and whiskey. The false detention and delay prompted the *Heroine* owners to file a five thousand dollar lawsuit against Laborde, who had to hire a defense lawyer.⁴ Five days later, attorney James Foulhouse, who represented Spanish interests in New Orleans, was taking a steamship to Havana with master spy Ramón de Acha.⁵ De Acha was a Spanish naval captain and frequently visited American ports. Ramón and his brother Tomás de Acha received, interpreted and relayed messages from a large espionage network which in New Orleans included Cuban José Ramón Ayala, Fulgencio Llorente, Henry Marie, William Eagle, James MacConnell, Spaniard Antonio González, Hungarian Maximilien M. Galody, and a Mr. Jordan, who was probably a filibuster.⁶ De Acha had been assigned to his mission by the Captain General of Cuba in August 1849, after the Round Island expedition was discovered. After surveilling filibuster activities in New Orleans, Mobile and New York, he had

personally turned in a full report to Minister Calderón in Washington, D.C., of all the information he had been sending to the Cuban authorities with a special cipher of the Ministry of State. As a result of these investigations, a number of Cubans had been arrested and others were under surveillance and their mail was being intercepted.⁷ Prior to de Acha leaving Washington, D.C., Minister Calderón wrote to Secretary of State John M. Clayton that the master spy wanted to meet with him and with President Taylor.⁸ Upon returning to Havana in April 1850, de Acha assumed command of the cruiser *Blasco de Garay* to intercept the awaited filibuster expedition.⁹

López believed that the expedition information being leaked to the New York press was the work of the Cuban Council. He wrote from New Orleans on 2 April to José Aniceto Iznaga that Madán, Betancourt and de Agüero had betrayed him.¹⁰ Two days later, López was sailing on the Mississippi River, possibly on his way to recruit in Texas, where a meeting with Sam Houston obtained some results.¹¹ That same day, 4 April, John Henderson arrived at the St. Charles Hotel and handed Gonzales a four-day-old letter from Quitman, with numerous questions regarding the progress of the expedition.¹² Checking into the nearby six-story Veranda Hotel at the same time was Mississippi filibuster William S. McIntosh, joining Major William J. Bunch, a Mexican War veteran, who arrived there the previous day.¹³ That evening, Gonzales was introduced to Bunch, who gave him two notes of presentation from Quitman, and to Lieutenant Colonel Peter Smith, son of Judge Cotesworth Pinckney Smith.¹⁴ Both men received authorization to raise a skeleton regiment in Mississippi.¹⁵

Gonzales answered Quitman's letter on the 5th, explaining that the Kentucky "emigrants" would not arrive until the day of sailing to insure a greater degree of secrecy. They were led by efficient men who were Mexican War veterans, some were educated at West Point, and all

belonged "to the best families in the State." A meeting was to be held that night to negotiate the price of a steamer in the Chagres line capable of carrying six hundred men. Gonzales informed Quitman that they expected to sail on the first of May, with a force ranging from two hundred to six hundred men, and that according to the number available, López would decide on the landing site at the last moment, and modify his plans according to future favorable news from Cuba. Hungarian revolutionaries in New York had offered their services to the Cuban cause and were willing to sell them sixteen twelve-pounder cannons. A Junta member [Cirilo Villaverde] had recently received a letter from his brother, who claimed insurrectional leaders in western Pinar del Rio province had "several thousand men already armed and munitioned" who would rise once López landed, and "seize the forts of Cabanas, Mariel and Bahiahonda, and the towns of Guanajay, Mantua and Pinar del Rio," the latter the provincial capital. The news from Cuba indicated that, "All are expecting us. Some with dread, some with hope and anxiety."¹⁶

Regarding the Madán feud, Gonzales told Quitman that the Havana Club had just informed López that they had ceased all official intercourse with the Council, considering it "incapable of organizing an expedition." The Club backed the López reunification proposition and if Madán and Betancourt did not comply, they would be replaced by other representatives. The Havana Club would not provide monetary guarantees until both groups unified, and would not accept a solution excluding López, "without whom nothing could be done in Cuba." This provoked "a great flareup" in the Council, which led to its dissolution.

Gonzales indicated to Quitman that the Havana Club financial offer had an unrealistic clause, which demanded a guarantee of American government non-intervention with the expedition. López responded that he was too close to his objective to change plans, which would

create a delay of more than six months, still had no confidence in Madán, and asked the Club to obtain the Round Island armament which Madán had entrusted to a New Orleans banker, so that it could be used by the second invasion wave of American troops. Gonzales believed that as soon as they landed in Cuba, the Club members would support them with all their means, but until then, "a thousand petty motives and childish apprehensions will enerve their action."¹⁷

During the first week of April, twenty-three-year-old Chatham Roberdeau Wheat introduced himself to Gonzales, "begging to be allowed to go" on the Cuban expedition.¹⁸ Born in Alexandria, Virginia, he graduated in 1845 from Nashville University, and attained the rank of brevet captain in the Mexican War.¹⁹ Wheat settled in New Orleans after returning with the troops on 7 July 1848.²⁰ He was admitted to the Louisiana bar within a year and became active in Whig politics.²¹ His father, Episcopal clergyman John Thomas Wheat, later wrote that his son's reasons for joining the Cuban expedition were "not only from universal feelings of philanthropy, but for the patriotic purpose of aggrandizing the South. This latter consideration was pressed by several prominent Southern Statesmen, his Mason personal friends, who anticipating the coming strife with the North, saw in the acquisition of Cuba as a new Slave State a vast resource on the event of revolution...."²² Wheat was more precise when he told his confidant, attorney Thomas R. Wolfe, that his ambition was to be a Major General before the age of twenty-four.²³

Wheat was immediately accepted by Gonzales after identifying himself as a brother freemason. He offered to raise a skeleton regiment of Louisianans, but when told there was no transportation, he proposed to charter a vessel and equip his own men.²⁴ The Junta offered Wheat a colonelship with the brevet rank of brigadier general.²⁵ Recruitment efforts started in

New Orleans with the distribution of proclamations in coffeehouses and in Bank's Arcade, a three-story block-long structure on Magazine Street, between Natchez and Gravier Streets, in the Second Municipality. The building, erected by Thomas Banks in 1833, had a glass-roofed courtyard, a saloon, an auction mart, and the upper level contained John Hewlett's Restaurant. In 1835, it was the scene of a mass meeting of New Orleans citizens who volunteered for the Texas Revolution.²⁶

Filibuster organizers and volunteers were pouring into New Orleans by the hundreds. They established their headquarters in the luxurious St. Charles Hotel, located on the Second Municipality square bound by St. Charles Avenue, Gravier, Carondelet and Common Streets. López resided two blocks away, in the \$22,000 home of Laurent Sigur, at 96 Custom House Street (today Iberville Street), in the French Quarter. The house was also occupied by thirty-three-year-old Mrs. Malvina Sigur, their five-year-old daughter Louise, the editor's fifty-year-old relative Coralie Tremonlet, her teenage daughter, and three Irish housekeepers.²⁷

Arriving at the St. Charles Hotel on 9 April was a mysterious Cuban who registered as "Mr. Correa."²⁸ The Spanish Consul in New Orleans was told by his top spy, Ramón de Acha, that Correa had arrived from Havana with \$6,000 for López, and the Captain General of Cuba was immediately informed.²⁹ The next day, doctor George A. Gardiner, who served as character witness for Gonzales during his naturalization ceremony, checked into Hewlett's Hotel.³⁰ Twenty four hours later, the steamer *Martha Washington* docked with a large contingent from Cincinnati and Kentucky.³¹ Among those registering in the principal hotels were Henry Theodore Titus, William Hardy, John McCann, H. H. Robinson and John Henderson, once again in New Orleans.³² The steamer *Saladin* arrived from Louisville on the 12th, with the rest of the

Kentucky Regiment.³³ Expeditionaries Theodore O'Hara, Dr. T. J. Kennedy, J. Harkins, C. Knott, A. W. Johnson and J. C. Johnston, lodged in the St. Charles Hotel.³⁴ An informant told the Spanish Consul that López had returned to New Orleans on the 13th, met with his collaborators, and ordered everything to be ready for the departure.³⁵

Six days later, José Sánchez Iznaga arrived from New York, registered at the Veranda Hotel, and later moved to the St. Charles.³⁶ On the following day, 20 April, the steamer *Creole* was acquired. The ship was built in New York City in 1841, with dimensions of 165 feet in length, twenty two feet in breadth, measuring three hundred and six tons, having one deck, no mast or galleries, a round tuck and a billet head. Henderson called to his office Robert Geddes, of the commercial firm "J. & R. Geddes," with whom he had previously agreed on a \$16,000 price, after Geddes refused to accept a larger amount of Cuban Bonds signed by General López. The forty-year-old Ohio-born Geddes and his older brother John resided in the nearby St. Charles Hotel.³⁷ Henderson questioned the condition of the vessel, which he said would be used for an expedition, and asked Geddes not to say anything until it had sailed. Geddes was the agent for three-fourths of the vessel, partly owned by his firm, by J. L. Day and Abraham Wolff, while the other fourth belonged to Captain R. A. Hiern. Henderson gave Geddes \$10,000 cash and a six-month note for \$2,000 secured with a property deed at Pass Christian. The balance went to Captain Hiern. Henderson accompanied Geddes to the Customhouse, where the *Creole* bill of sale was made out to William H. White of New Orleans, who had been present at both interviews, but had not participated in the negotiations.³⁸

The next step was to obtain weapons for the expedition, since Madán's Council steadfastly refused to turn over the armament salvaged from the Round Island affair that was still in New

Orleans.³⁹ The principal figure for the acquisition of arms was forty-seven-year-old Brigadier General Jean Baptiste Donatien Augustin, commander of the Louisiana Legion, a state militia unit. His parents had left France during the Revolution and purchased a Caribbean plantation near Port-au-Prince, where Donatien was born on 4 July 1802. The following year, the slave uprisings on San Domingue forced the Augustins to flee to Santiago de Cuba. Donatien spent the next ten years of his life in Cuba, where three sisters were born, before the family settled in New Orleans in 1811. Augustin received a law degree, became a leader of the bar, was elected judge, and acted briefly as parish sheriff. His "exceedingly tenacious" character and his fencing expertise got him involved in various duels. Augustin lived in a \$40,000 estate in the French Quarter with his thirty-four-year-old wife and five children.⁴⁰

Augustin, at the request of Sigur, made a weapons requisition on 23 April from Louisiana Adjutant General Charles N. Rowley, commander of the Arsenal of the State of Louisiana, on St. Peter Street, in the French Quarter. The thirty-five-year-old Rowley, a native New Yorker, was married to the daughter of Notary Public Jacob Soria, and shared the same home in the Third Municipality.⁴¹ The forty-eight-year-old Soria, also from New York, was a close friend of Governor Quitman and had been appointed the previous month to a Mississippi public office. Rowley received a \$7,500 surety bond from Sigur for 398 muskets, forty-six percussion pistols, sixteen flint pistols and sixty cavalry sabers, which were turned over to the Cuban revolutionaries.⁴² Those contributing to the bond were Theodore S. Sigur, \$2,500; notary public A. A. Baudoin, \$1,500; Theodore O. Stark, a thirty-two-year-old Mississippian who resided in the St. Charles Hotel and had his notary public office in Banks Arcade, \$1,000;⁴³ commission merchant John M. Bell, of Bell & Conway and proprietor of shippers cotton press, \$1,000; notary

public William Monaghan, \$500; John Henderson, \$500; and Albert F. Fabre, superintendent of the French Quarter public schools, \$500.⁴⁴ The twenty-six-year-old Fabre had been recently exiled from his native France for his satirical political journalism, which he continued to espouse in his New Orleans publication *la Chronique*.⁴⁵ Freemasonry also linked some of the contributors: Augustin, Baudoin and Fabre were members of masonic Perfect Union Lodge, No. 1, in New Orleans.⁴⁶

Two days after securing the weapons, the bark *Georgianna* cleared port on 25 April after Captain Rufus Benson attested on the cargo manifest as bound for Chagres with "Coal Ballast, Passengers, their Provisions & Baggage."⁴⁷ The one thousand barrels of coal aboard were meant for the *Creole*.⁴⁸ The vessel was also clandestinely carrying 250 muskets from the Louisiana Arsenal.⁴⁹ The owner of the *Georgianna* was sixty-year-old Colonel J. Breedlove, a Tennessee-born merchant⁵⁰ and former Collector in New Orleans in the 1830s, who personally provided passage to Chagres for the 225 Kentucky filibusters. The next day, Governor Quitman reached New Orleans, as Gonzales had requested, and registered in the St. Charles Hotel.⁵¹ Quitman worked behind the scenes through his political contacts and masonic brethren to help the filibusters, many of whom were freemasons. The State of Mississippi through a state officer provided fifty "Mississippi" rifles, the 1842 Yager model weapon that got its nickname after a regiment from that state used it with great skill during the Mexican War. They were taken to New Orleans by someone who went in the expedition. The armament needed was completed with the arrival of two hundred patent rifles from the North.⁵² Quitman had apparently agreed to lead a reinforcement expedition from New Orleans two to three weeks after the Cuba landing if López was successful in gaining the support of the populace.⁵³ Chatham Roberdeau Wheat, leader of

the Louisiana regiment, became "a great favorite" of Quitman after being introduced by the Cubans, who claimed to "have the most unequivocal assurances from the people of the Island of a general uprising and co-operation on their part." According to Wheat, the second contingent led by Quitman would depart "between the 1st and 15th June" and his friend General Robert Armstrong, was pledged to it.⁵⁴ According to Henderson, Quitman would resign the governorship and head for Cuba after receiving the "call."⁵⁵ The reinforcement plans were even known by the local correspondent of the New York *Herald*, who reported a week later that the first expeditionary regiments had already sailed for the rendezvous point, that the second contingent would depart in a few days, and that "A distinguished officer of the late war, and at present the Executive of an adjoining State, will follow with the *corps de reserve*, and take command of the entire forces of the new Republic."⁵⁶

New Orleans Consul Laborde continued to receive misinformation from his spies, duly transmitting everything to Calderón. He reported on 26 April that two armed vessels with four hundred filibusters had departed three weeks earlier, and that the frigate *J. W. Dyer* had left on the 23rd with the remainder of the expedition. Another fifteen hundred men remained to be taken to Cuba via Chagres on four vessels. Although most of this report was fictitious, he did ascertain that "Another vessel is freighted by Mr. Breedlove...to take out more of the men," and that the leaders were López, Gonzales and the other Junta members.⁵⁷

Four days later, Mississippi Supreme Court Judge Cotesworth Pinckney Smith arrived at the St. Charles Hotel on 30 April.⁵⁸ The Junta leaders were having difficulties selling their bonds, so Smith endorsed some of them. When he arrived, a \$20,000 bond was issued, bearing the Cuban coat of arms and the seal of the Provisional Government, and guaranteed with the

signatures of López, Gonzales, Sánchez Iznaga, and "the Honorable Cotesworth Pinckney Smith, Judge of the Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals of the State of Mississippi."⁵⁹ Total expedition expenses were estimated by Gonzales to be \$40,000 to \$50,000. Henderson calculated about \$50,000 since 20 March, including \$19,000 invested in the *Creole*.⁶⁰ Sánchez Iznaga placed the amount at \$37,500, all of it donated by Americans, including one person who sold his only slave to meet an urgent expenditure.⁶¹

The Louisiana regiment was ready to sail on 2 May. That afternoon, J. C. Davis carried his carpetbag aboard the brig *Susan Loud*, docked at post No. 9 in the Second Municipality. On board was the Louisiana Regiment led by Chatham Roberdeau Wheat. Davis was scrutinizing his traveling companions from his seat on the deck, when he got involved in breaking up a fight between a one-eyed recruit and a bearded expeditionary. Moments later, an Irish cab driver went aboard arguing with someone who owed him seventy five cents of a four dollar fare. The hirsute brawler grabbed the cabbie by the collar and pants and pitched him onto the next ship. Kentucky Regiment commander Theodore O'Hara would later complain that "the riff-raff which Col. Wheat picked up promiscuously in New Orleans were but a burden to the expedition."⁶²

Captain Simeon Pendleton received port clearance after signing a sworn cargo manifesto that he was bound for Chagres with ballast, passengers and their provisions.⁶³ After announcing the departure, Pendleton threw his cable to the paddle tow-boat that pulled the *Susan Loud* from the dock, setting course for the Balize, the disembarkation point at the mouth of the Mississippi River.⁶⁴ Wheat preferred not to write to his parents, and asked his friend, attorney Thomas R. Wolfe, to do it after his departure. Wolfe informed Reverend Wheat that his son had left on the Cuban expedition that would revolutionize the island, that the leaders of the movement were

General López and Governor Quitman and that the "desperate" undertaking was extensively composed of "many of the most influential men of our City and the neighboring states."⁶⁵

Two days later, the *Herald* correspondent was writing that John O'Sullivan was in New Orleans assisting in the organization of the expedition, and that the Spanish Consul "has his spies, thick as blackberries, throughout the city."⁶⁶ One of the secret agents approached Gonzales saying that he dealt in horses and mules in Cuba, and wanted to help López by providing transport at the landing point. Gonzales communicated his suspicions to the general, who approved a ruse to misdirect the Spanish authorities. Gonzales later told the informant that the expedition was going to Santa Cruz, on the southeastern coast of Cuba, opposite their objective on the northwestern shore.⁶⁷

Another informant in New Orleans was banker James Robb, who had large property interests in Cuba, and had written to President Taylor in April and on 6 May to indicate that a "formidable" military organization had been raised and was leaving their shores to descend upon the island. While unable to give the names of those involved, he suggested that the government should respond by sending a strong naval force to the Gulf "to act as circumstances may require." Robb stated that since the Captain General of Cuba had the authority to emancipate the slaves in case of a civil war, Taylor should warn him that it would precipitate American intervention. Robb had also informed his friend General James Hamilton in South Carolina to see the president immediately on this matter.⁶⁸

A similar well-informed letter was sent to the President the next day by William L. Hodge of New Orleans, indicating that, "The last of the Cubans leave this evening, accompanied by Generals Lopez, Gonsalves [*sic*], &c. They expect to land on the island within a week from this

time. Their rendezvous is not at Chagres, but much nearer the island." Hodge wrongly estimated there were between six thousand to eight thousand expeditionaries, and that to protect American interests from a general emancipation unleashed against them, "a large naval force should be present" in Cuba.⁶⁹

As rumors of the expedition spread, newly arrived adventurers sought out the leadership to request commissions. Mississippian A. B. Moore, a friend of Captain Achilles Kewen, heard of a military expedition to Cuba and decided to join it. On 6 May he was introduced to John Henderson at his law office, where he also met Gonzales, Nathaniel L. Mitchell, attorney B. D. Howard, a Quitman associate and publisher of the Jackson *Mississippian*, and others. Henderson posed some questions to Moore, including his performance and skill with a rifle, and then held a private conversation with Moore's sponsor. When Moore left, his friend told him he could not get him a commission.⁷⁰

Moore decided to embark for Cuba anyway. The next evening, he went aboard the crowded *Creole*, which was docked at Bull's Head, Lafayette. Moore left to have dinner, returned about eight or nine o'clock, and stayed on board until departure shortly thereafter. The ship's captain was a thirty-two-year-old Virginian, Armstrong Irvine Lewis, who resided for more than twelve years in the Orleans Parish district with his wife, their two children and his mother-in-law.⁷¹ He was slender, middle height, "even features, dark complexion and hair, and of quick, active appearing habits."⁷² The *Creole* carried 150 to 160 men, including Colonel William J. Bunch and his Mississippi Regiment, a small group of stragglers from Louisiana and Kentucky, General López, and only four Cubans. These were Junta members Gonzales, Sánchez Iznaga, Macías and Hernández, young aristocratic intellectuals without military experience.⁷³ The other

Junta founding member, Cirilo Villaverde, stayed behind in the Irving Hotel in Washington. Historian Portell Vilá apologetically purported that Villaverde did not go because he could not afford passage to New Orleans. His failure to ever take up arms for Cuban freedom provoked a distancing with Gonzales and others, whom he derided in his diary. Another active conspirator who did not cross the line into battle was John O'Sullivan who, like Villaverde, was "Essentially a man of peace and an opponent of war.... Gentle, and of a delicate nature," and slight in build.⁷⁴ There were some six hundred Cuban exiles in the United States,⁷⁵ and the negative campaign of the Madán Council against López seems to have affected their recruitment.

The American filibusters were a motley mob with a myriad of motivations. The Mississippi regiment included Hinds County residents Captain A. Mizell, a thirty-two-year-old constable born in North Carolina, married to an English woman, with two Mississippi-born infant daughters;⁷⁶ William Tucker Holland, alias *Turk*, a twenty-six-year-old Kentuckian owner of a livery stable;⁷⁷ J. C. Perkins, a twenty-five-year-old Tennessean of unknown occupation living with a planter family;⁷⁸ and Captain William H. Bell, who described himself as "poor, without a name," after losing his left arm in the battle of Monterey.⁷⁹ Other contingents of Mississippians were recruited in Vicksburg and Jackson. Company B Captain Hiram Keating was a twenty-eight-year-old unemployed Kentuckian living in Vicksburg with a Mississippi wife and infant daughter.⁸⁰

The Kentucky regiment was drawn mostly from Louisville, neighboring Shelby county, and from Boone and Campbell counties, across the Ohio River from Cincinnati. Its officers included Captain John Allen, a forty-year-old bachelor without an occupation, living with his physician brother and wife in Shelby County, where he raised a company of expeditionaries;⁸¹

Captain John A. Logan, scion of a historic family, accompanied by Agustín Martínez, a Mexican lad who followed him home after the Mexican War;⁸² Captain Fielding C. Wilson, a twenty-eight-year-old engineer with a wife and baby girl;⁸³ Lieutenant W. H. Barton, an illiterate twenty-two-year-old laborer who left behind a pregnant wife;⁸⁴ Lieutenant John McDerman, a twenty-eight-year-old New York physician with a Kentucky wife and two infant daughters;⁸⁵ Lieutenant William Hamley, a twenty-six-year-old Irish laborer, residing with his wife and newborn daughter in a crowded Irish boarding house in Louisville;⁸⁶ Corporal Thomas Work, a twenty-year-old bachelor Irish laborer living in an Irish rooming house in Newport.⁸⁷

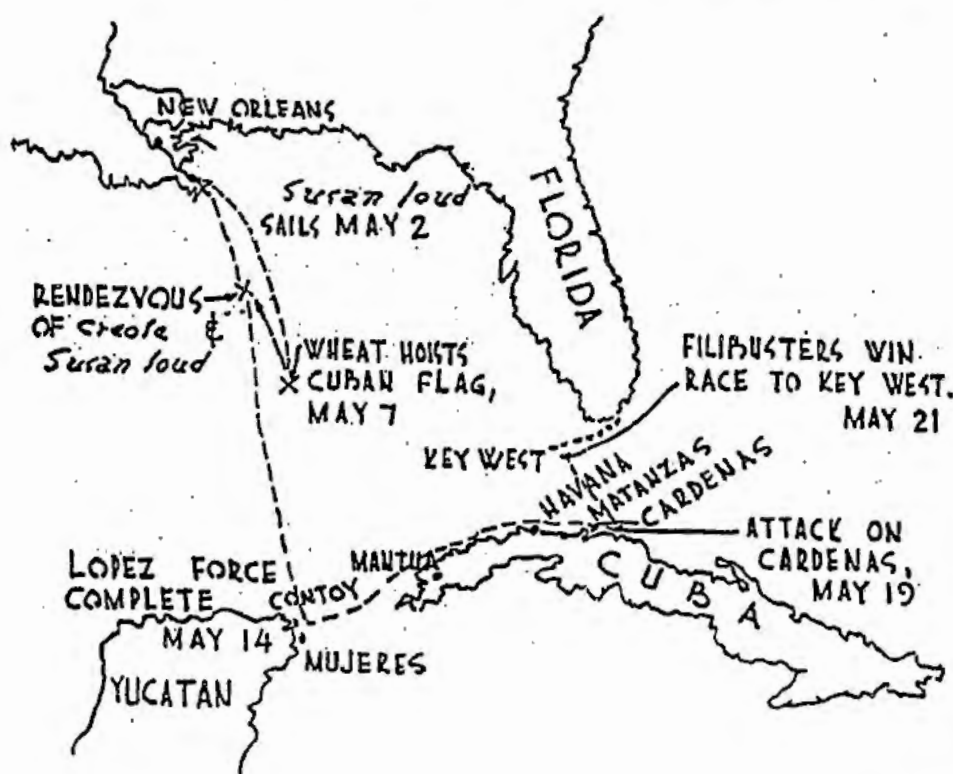
The *Creole* stopped ten miles south of New Orleans, at the landing of the Landier plantation in St. Bernard parish, to take on arms and supplies. Henderson arrived in a steam ferry boat from Mississippi with Judge Smith and a General Cooper, carrying a large supply of boots and compounds. After everything was transferred to the *Creole* the expeditionaries departed at four o'clock on the morning of 9 May.⁸⁸ The expedition that left New Orleans was an open secret advertised in the press prior to landing in Cuba. The sympathetic New York *Sun* reported on 11 May that the vessels commanded by General López were on the coast of the island and printed a drawing of the Cuban flag. At its office building, on the corner of Nassau and Fulton Streets in Manhattan, a large Cuban flag was unfurled, attracting the attention of large crowds that would daily congregate in front of it, to the chagrin of the Spanish residents.⁸⁹ Three days before the disembarkment, the New Orleans *Picayune* was reasserting "what every one knows already," that the filibusters were on their way and that "the first blow is to be soon."⁹⁰ Spanish Minister Calderón read these publications, relayed the information to the Captain General of Cuba, and filed a diplomatic protest in Washington, admonishing that the "pirates" would be

chastised, and that no matter how severe it would seem to others, no interposition on their behalf would be accepted.⁹¹

Calderón had forwarded the erroneous complaints of Consul Laborde to Secretary of State Clayton, who referred the matter to the New Orleans District Attorney. Hunton responded on 14 May that local federal officers had not been unmindful of the vigilance instructions received from Washington four months earlier. He acknowledged that many persons had left New Orleans recently, ultimately destined for Cuba, to gather outside the United States under the leadership of López, "to assist the dissatisfied people of that island in throwing off the dominion of Spain.... If Lopez shall be able to make a successful stand, it is said he will be joined by a distinguished gentleman, now the governor of a neighboring state, to whom the command will then be yielded." Hunton claimed he had been unable to act because "the leaders of the enterprise have had good *legal advisers* and have not rendered themselves amenable to our laws."⁹² This last statement would later return to haunt him during the filibuster trials.

Clayton tried to placate Calderón on 18 May by indicating that three American war vessels, including the *Albany* and *Germantown*, from the squadron on the West India station should have reached the Cuban coast a week earlier to "prevent the landing" of the expeditionaries, and that the President had recently issued orders for the steam frigates *Saranac* and *Congress* to assist the others.⁹³ The *Saranac* went to sea on the 18th but was not expected to reach Cuba for five days.⁹⁴ The other American vessels apparently never got there in time to stop the expeditionaries. The day after the landing, the correspondent of the *Picayune* in Havana was regretting that "none of our men-of-war should be in these waters" to protect American interests on the island.⁹⁵ The Spanish colonial government had concentrated their

troops on the eastern mountainous region of Oriente province, assuming it was the landing area, and four Spanish war vessels were anchored there at the port of Santiago de Cuba. Military strength was minimal in the central province of Matanzas, the site of the disembarkment, because a cholera and yellow fever epidemic that killed large numbers of people was still raging.⁹⁶



The *Creole* caught up with the *Susan Loud* on the afternoon of Friday the 10th near Latitude 26 degrees North, Longitude 87 degrees West, in the Gulf of Mexico, as both vessels were flying the Cuban flag from the mast-head. Gonzales boarded the brig to inquire about the health and spirits of the men after eight days at sea. He provided instructions on the method of night-time procedures before returning to the steamer.⁹⁷ The next day was spent in transferring the troops from the *Susan Loud* to the *Creole* and López enticed Captain Pendleton to go with

them on the steamer, since the old seadog was well acquainted with the Cuban harbors. The *Creole* then sailed to find the *Georgianna*. Some filibusters got jittery on the morning of the 12th, fearing the Spaniards might intercept them on the high seas, and demanded to be armed for such an emergency. The "ever able and efficient" Gonzales ordered the cargo boxes opened and the weapons distributed among the men, who settled down feeling more secure.⁹⁸

Gonzales made a highly favorable and lasting impression on one of the expeditionaries, who described him as a "polished man of letters" and "a deep powerful thinker." After five minutes of talking with Gonzales during the voyage, the filibuster recalled, "he will display to you the most erudite knowledge of character and the general world. I shall say that deep policy and mental activity were his distinguishing characteristics." The Cuban was depicted as having "A heavy, and somewhat sluggish, yet strongly marked countenance," and displaying on various occasions "powers of oratory of no ordinary character."⁹⁹

The *Georgianna* was located on the morning of the 14th while anchored at Contoy Island, off the Yucatán peninsula. Several Spanish fishing smacks were in the area, and López sent for one captain, to whom he identified himself and declared his intentions. López apparently wanted the news to reach Cuba before he got there, possibly hoping that it would cause his followers in the island to revolt, as the smack immediately sailed off for Havana.¹⁰⁰ The *Creole* then went to nearby Mugeris Island for water and supplies, where the expeditionaries camped and drilled for the next two days. The "ever energetic" Gonzales engaged most of the local natives in taking water aboard the *Creole*.¹⁰¹ When they headed back to Contoy on the morning of the 16th, thirteen Louisianans stayed behind. Returning to the *Georgianna*, the two vessels were lashed together while the transfer of troops was accomplished. López held a council of war and offered

the expeditionaries a final opportunity to back out. Another thirty nine men decided to return to the United States on the *Georgianna*, making a final tally of 521 members of the Liberation Army that sailed for Cuba on the *Creole*.¹⁰²

After breakfast on the 17th, the "ever indefatigable and industrious" Gonzales made the final distribution of weapons and ammunition.¹⁰³ The fifty Mississippi rifles were assigned to the Kentucky Regiment, which had the best leadership and organization. Gonzales gave the old flint muskets to the Louisianans and the Jennings' patent rifles to the rest. In addition, almost every man carried a bowie knife or a revolver.¹⁰⁴ The expeditionaries were also issued red shirts with a white star over the heart.¹⁰⁵ One of them, observing Gonzales, later wrote:

But see Gonzales upon our merry little craft. He is the embodiment and incarnation of ubiquity--here, there, and every where--now ready to intervene, and palliate, and remove entirely, any acerbity of feeling that may spring up among the officers; and again, pausing for hours by the side of unclean privates, to afford every explanation and dissipate every doubt and fear. Without ostentation or intrusion, he enters into the most minute domestic arrangement of the boat. I have seen him, wearied with the cares and exertions of a hot tropical day, surrender his berth to some gaping officer, and with joy on his face betake himself to slumber upon the hard deck, without even the consolation of a knapsack for a pillow.

His labors are the more arduous, as he is the only medium through which the Commander-in-Chief diffuses his wishes to the force under his command.¹⁰⁶

That evening, the plan of operations was revealed to the expeditionaries. They would land in the unfortified town of Cárdenas at night and take it by surprise. The liberators would then take the railroad thirty miles to Matanzas, arriving there about seven o'clock in the morning, and attack from the rear the fortifications that faced the sea. Once the city fell, a company of one hundred men would go by train to within nine miles of Havana, destroy the bridge and tracks to impede reinforcements from leaving the capital, and return to Matanzas. López believed that by then his three skeleton regiments would be engorged with volunteers and three new ones raised, giving him some five thousand mounted troops within two days after landing. After one week,

when the Quitman reinforcements were to arrive, López expected to have thirty thousand men encamped outside the walls of Havana.¹⁰⁷

In the early morning of Saturday the 18th, López held a war council with the leaders of the three regiments, among whom some personality differences had arisen. When the details and pending matters were settled, López resumed scanning the horizon next to Captain Lewis at the helm. The *Creole* slipped quietly into Cárdenas bay on the night of the 18th. The inlet measured fifteen miles from Piedras Key at its entrance to the city shore. Local fishermen became suspicious of the crowded vessel sailing slowly without lights on a moonless night and not having requested the harbor pilot to guide it through the shipping channel. One of them notified a police watchman, who reported to his superior, Corporal Manso, who in turn informed the Lieutenant Governor, Colonel Florencio Cerutti, the nephew of the Captain General of Cuba, who at midnight was in a local theater box enjoying a stage show. When the rumor spread amongst the crowd after the performance, many believed it was just another false alarm.¹⁰⁸

Cárdenas, founded in 1828, was a prosperous town. The royal census of 1846 indicated that its population of 3,103, comprising all classes and social conditions, lived in seventy-three rubble masonry homes, 232 dwellings of wood and shingles and five palm-frond shacks. Its establishments included two drug stores, two taverns, five clothing stores, twenty-five dry goods stores, eight bakeries, eight inns, seven cafe/billiard halls, two barber shops, ten cobblers, one veterinarian, four blacksmiths, two cooperages, five carpenters, four tailors, two silversmiths, a horologist, two saddleries, eight tobacco shops, two hat stores, one furrier, a coppersmith, a butcher, one tin shop, a foundry, five limestone ovens, twenty charcoal stores and a cockfight ring. The port had been opened to international commerce in 1848, increasing its population to

just over four thousand when the expeditionaries landed.¹⁰⁹

The *Creole* abruptly grounded at 2:30 a.m. during low tide a few yards from the wooden pier protruding more than one hundred meters in length. Twenty-nine-year-old Callender Irvine Fayssoux, acting as first mate on the steamer, jumped overboard with a rope between his teeth. The wiry, bearded, five-foot-four Fayssoux was born in St. Louis, Missouri. His father, a navy lieutenant, raised him in Philadelphia until the age of fourteen, when they moved to New Orleans. Fayssoux joined the navy of the Texas Republic in 1841 and the U.S. Navy during the Mexican War. He had been first officer of the steamer *Fanny* during the Round Island expedition and prior to that, he had been involved in three duels.¹¹⁰ Fayssoux climbed the wharf and used the rope to pull a long plank from the gunwale, sitting on his end of it to make it steady. López was impatient to land first, but Gonzales suggested that since he weighed less, he should test the firmness of the board. Gonzales walked to the middle of the gangwalk, jumped a few times, and beckoned López to proceed.¹¹¹

The first person López ran into was the captain of the port, Patricio Montojo, an old acquaintance, who awaited the arrival believing it was a Spanish war steamer. López sent him with five guards to tell Cerutti to present himself. After being led away, Montojo escaped into the night after quickly turning a corner. Snatching a horse, he galloped to the railroad yard a mile-and-a-half southwest of town and spread the alarm. An express locomotive took him to Matanzas, and after passing the Pla station, three kilometers distant, the railroad workers lifted a lengthy section of track to contain the invaders. Montojo informed the Matanzas governor of the López landing, who sent him to Havana by steamer, notifying the Captain General by five o'clock that afternoon.¹¹²



Callender Irvine Fayssoux

Juan García, a watchman who had witnessed the landing, ran through town blowing a whistle and shouting "los americanos." Jail warden Nicolás Cárcamo awakened by the noise at three o'clock, when informed of the events, notified Cerutti.¹¹³ The governor took the threat more seriously this time and retrieving seventeen soldiers from the barracks, fortified themselves in his office.

The more than five hundred expeditionaries spent over an hour disembarking in single file across the plank. Colonel O'Hara's Kentucky Regiment was the first to land and silently assumed formation. O'Hara quickly detached a group of sixty men, commanded by Lt. Colonel Pickett, to occupy the railroad yard a mile and a half south-west of town. This group included train engineers to conduct them to Matanzas. O'Hara was waiting for Macías, who would serve as interpreter and guide, when López appeared and told him to immediately march into town and capture the barracks and the garrison.¹¹⁴ A mulatto seized in the street was coerced into leading the invaders to the barracks which, unknown to the expeditionaries, was not in the plaza but in another part of town, on the corner of Ruiz and Industria Streets.¹¹⁵ O'Hara later erroneously claimed that the frightened man had led them in the wrong direction, because he did not take them to the main square.¹¹⁶

The Louisiana Regiment commanded by Colonel Wheat disembarked from the *Creole* and proceeded in the darkness to the center of town on a street parallel to the right flank of the advancing O'Hara. They were followed by Lieutenant Colonel Bunch and his Mississippians, who went in the same direction one block to the left of the Kentucky column. Captain Achilles L. Kewen, with a detachment of nineteen Mississippians from Company A, went to occupy the downtown railroad terminal by the bay, to prevent the six a.m. train from leaving. There he

captured twenty-four employees and a dozen armed men.¹¹⁷

When O'Hara realized he had been led astray, he countermarched the Kentuckians back into town, running into López, who provided another impressed citizen, Spanish sugar merchant Joaquín Queipo, as a guide.¹¹⁸ The expeditionary column marched into the central Plaza of Quintayros, a long rectangular open area dotted with tropical shade trees. On the east stood the massive stone jailhouse with iron-grated windows. On the opposite side was the two-story rubble masonry Capitular House, housing the governor's offices on the top floor, and to the west was the cathedral. O'Hara later reported that his guide, "stupefied with fear," gave confusing directions on the location of the barracks.¹¹⁹ Queipo was apparently indicating that the jail was not the barracks, but his captors did not trust him. The Spaniard was forced to approach the jailhouse entrance and the guard gave out the customary challenge, "Who lives?" Queipo correctly replied, "Spain," but when further asked, "What people?" he answered, "Citizen--but behind are the Americans," and bolted.¹²⁰

The sentinel gave various other challenges in rapid succession and then fired once. The Kentuckians responded with a barrage that cut him to pieces. As the column advanced, a volley was fired by soldiers inside the jail, wounding a few Americans, including O'Hara, who was shot in the leg. Command of the Kentucky regiment passed to Major Thomas Hawkins.¹²¹

When Colonel Wheat heard the gunfire from a few blocks away, he credulously assumed it was a salute honoring López, called three cheers for "López and Liberty," and rushed toward the supposed jubilee. Wheat led the Louisianans into the plaza from the opposite side, near the Capitular House. A group of Spaniards retreating from the side of the jail in their direction fired from a few yards distance on Wheat who, falling with a slight shoulder wound, cried out,

"Louisianans! Your colonel is killed! Go and avenge his death!"¹²² In the ensuing shootout, a few Spaniards were hit and the others sought shelter in the Capitular House. Wheat was taken to the boarding house of Mrs. Wergener Woodbury, on the corner of the plaza, where the American wounded were being treated.¹²³ He passed command of the regiment to the one-armed Lt. Colonel William H. Bell, and ordered him to attack the Capitular House. The Louisianans charged and broke open the doors to a tailor shop on the ground floor. Unable to reach the second-story government offices from the inside, López ordered their withdrawal.¹²⁴ During this time, "Gonzales exposed himself in the thickest of the fight and danger, passing from place to place communicating the orders of the commander in chief."¹²⁵

López then started a parley for the surrender of the jailhouse on the other end of the plaza, but as time passed, means were devised to batter down the gate. Gonzales rushed in with the vanguard, finding that the soldiers had escaped out the back door, leaving behind a lone sentry in charge of some twenty six prisoners. The guard fearlessly stood his ground and thrust his bayonet at his opponents. As he was about to be gunned down, López shouted against harming such a brave man.¹²⁶ At least thirty-three male and female inmates were released and an expeditionary wrote in the registry book: "This ends Spanish tyranny in the paradise of the World."¹²⁷

The troops fleeing the jail took refuge in the Capitular House and fired on the attackers from the second-story windows and terraces. At six o'clock, as dawn was breaking, López asked Gonzales to accompany him across the plaza to demand the governor to surrender. As they walked toward the Capitular House, shots from the upper floor hit Gonzales twice in the left thigh. López picked him up and ran for shelter. Gonzales was taken to the *Creole* on the carriage

of assessor Blas Dubouchet.¹²⁸ Although an inopportune event at the moment, it propelled Gonzales into immortality as the first Cuban to shed his blood for his country's freedom. One expeditionary, who described Gonzales as "the life and soul of the Expedition," indicated that the wounds kept him laid up for the next three weeks.¹²⁹

The enraged López then lit a torch and set fire to the doors of the Capitular House at about seven o'clock. Bolts of cloth taken from the tailor's shop were kindled and thrown through the upper office windows. Cerutti, with only seventeen soldiers, put up a fierce resistance and jumped over to the next house. When that dwelling was also torched, the Spaniards made their way to a third house. As they leaped toward the lower roof, it caved in, but no one was seriously hurt. Several women were inside, and this prompted Cerutti and his men, who were almost out of ammunition, to surrender. When a white flag could not be found, a young woman gallantly offered a white petticoat, which was produced from a window on the point of a bayonet. After the surrender, the Spaniards were astonished when the invaders retrieved the fire engine and helped put out the blaze.¹³⁰ Cerutti and his followers were confined in the jailhouse under a squad commanded by Macías. López then occupied the City Hall, expropriated \$5,132.75, and at the Custom House had local slaves remove an iron box with \$1,492.00 and take it to the *Creole*.¹³¹ The casualties of the Liberation Army were until then three dead and nine wounded.¹³²

The four thousand inhabitants of Cárdenas were bewildered by the events. Many fled with their valuables to the countryside or refuted in the foreign ships on the harbor. López raised the Cuban flag in front of the church, gave out proclamations for distribution and called the citizens to meet in the plaza, but only about fifty people appeared. The general pronounced a patriotic

speech denouncing royal tyranny, claiming he intended to organize and not disorganize, and invited them to fight for their country, but failed to stir the crowd. Somewhat disillusioned, López returned to the jail at ten o'clock and harangued the Spanish soldiers taken prisoner, twenty-six of whom, including four officers, joined his ranks and donned red shirts after being promised unconditional liberty.¹³³ The expeditionaries, who had not eaten or slept in twenty-four hours, were then allowed to rest. Stacking their arms in the plaza, some stretched out to sleep soundly, while others wandered about searching for food and drink. A detachment cared for the wounded and buried the dead.¹³⁴

The Havana correspondent of the New Orleans *Picayune*, who used the pen name "Peregrine" and has been identified as filibuster sympathizer John S. Thrasher,¹³⁵ went to Cárdenas five days later and reported that after the skirmish ended, "the men dispersed themselves over the town. No one disturbed them, nor did they interfere with anyone. They ate and drank in the shops, paying for what they received, and the inhabitants say, were exceedingly polite to every one."¹³⁶ The expeditionaries celebrated their victory with rum and brandy and soon got "*pretty well corned*."¹³⁷

At two o'clock López ordered the Mississippians to transfer the ammunition and stores in the *Creole* to a train at the railroad station, using animal-drawn wagons and some thirty-five slaves. The tide had returned and the steamer had been able to dock properly. During the hour that it took to complete this task, López started having doubts about what to do next. The populace had not rallied to his cause, his undisciplined troops were scattered, and four of his principal officers, regimental leaders O'Hara and Wheat, and Staff members Gonzales and Murry, lay wounded. An expeditionary claimed that the inhabitants did not revolt because they were

mostly Castillian Spaniards unsympathetic toward the Creoles and loyal to the Crown.¹³⁸ Yet, a large number of Americans living in Cárdenas, whom López believed would join him, never did. One expeditionary alleged that, "*The emigrants from the United States at Cardenas were as hostile to us as the Cubans.*"¹³⁹

A rider arrived from Matanzas at three o'clock and told López that two thousand Spanish troops were headed for Cárdenas.¹⁴⁰ López then held a council of war at his headquarters, a residence on Xenes Street, and decided to reembark on the *Creole* and go to the Vuelta Abajo region of Pinar del Río.¹⁴¹ One of the Villaverde brothers had claimed months earlier that two thousand armed rebels awaited the general's arrival there. Orders went out to move the armament loaded on the train back to the steamer. The officers commenced gathering their dispersed troops, which took some time, lacking drum or bugle to summon them. A retreat order was relayed to Lieutenant Colonel Pickett and the Kentuckians holding the railroad yard outside of town.¹⁴²

Lieutenant Colonel Bunch and his Mississippians were the first to reembark, followed by the Louisiana Regiment. By six o'clock the wounded were also on board, along with Lieutenant Governor Cerutti and two of his officers as hostages, and the four officers and twenty-six soldiers of the Cárdenas garrison who had defected. Some twenty slaves jumped in and begged to be taken, and although López ordered them ashore, seven managed to stow away.¹⁴³ Only López, his staff and the Kentucky Regiment, marching back through town, remained on shore. Just then, Spanish infantry and cavalry reinforcements arriving in Cárdenas charged the Kentuckians. Bunch hacked with his sword on the *Creole* anchor rope to force a quick departure. Captain Lewis forcibly stopped him and the incident led to a bloody duel between them weeks later.¹⁴⁴

The Kentuckians repulsed the attack at a cost of fifteen killed and nineteen wounded.¹⁴⁵

During the hasty departure, six Americans, including Mexican War veteran Captain Dupeau, George Warner, and nineteen-year-old Cincinnati William Kelly, were left behind, four of whom were executed six days later.¹⁴⁶ The *Creole* departed at nine o'clock and one hour later, moments after the leadsman cried out "mark twain," it ran hard aground in five feet of water. In a desperate refloat effort, three tons of ammunition, provisions and other material were thrown overboard. The Spaniards later got the boxes of ammunition out of the water and exhibited them as trophies. When the *Creole* still refused to budge, López ordered the men to be ferried on two small rowboats to an island a quarter mile away. After ninety men had been removed, the steamer was able to move again at 4:30 in the morning. During the ordeal, two mortally wounded Kentuckians, Captain Logan and Sexias, passed away. Recovering all passengers, the steamer dropped off the governor and two other prisoners at Piedra Key, and then stopped to bury the dead at sea.¹⁴⁷

The Spanish warship *Pizarro* suddenly appeared from the west, spewing a tall column of black smoke. On board were four companies of grenadiers with about two hundred men. Since the *Creole* had cut the engines and was not making smoke, it was not spotted by the warship, which penetrated Cárdenas bay. The expeditionaries sailed the rest of that day and all night in the direction of Key West, making no more than five miles an hour, with the *Pizarro* giving chase. Upon disembarking in the crowded Key West wharf, the wounded Gonzales raised his interlocked fingers above his forehead in the masonic sign of distress. The Collector of Customs, attorney Stephen R. Mallory, ordered four of his servants to carry Gonzales home on their shoulders. There he was attended to with great care and had one of the musket balls extracted from his thigh.¹⁴⁸ Mallory, a Democrat and the future Confederate Secretary of the Navy, was

the correspondent for the Whig New York *Tribune*.¹⁴⁹ Total casualties for the expeditionaries were estimated by one historian around seventy, and Spanish losses about one hundred.¹⁵⁰ Portell Vilá put the figures at twenty-six dead expeditionaries and between fifty and sixty wounded, while the names of ten Spaniards killed appear in a monument in Havana, and they had at least fifteen wounded.¹⁵¹

The expeditionaries in Key West were sheltered in the empty U.S. Army barracks about a mile from the city.¹⁵² López ordered that the money taken from the Cárdenas treasury be used for the relief of the wounded. The *Creole* was seized by the revenue collector for violation of the revenue laws. The seven stowaway slaves were claimed by the Spanish Vice Consul, and after a hearing before a federal judge, were turned over to the *Pizarro* captain, to be returned to their owner. When informing Washington of these events, Key West District Attorney W. R. Hackley proposed that the expeditionary staff and field officers be prosecuted for violation of the Neutrality Law.¹⁵³

Kentucky Regiment commander Theodore O'Hara later blamed "the fatal consequence of an indiscriminate enlistment of men," especially the "riff-raff" of the Louisiana Regiment, for the failure of the Cardenas expedition.¹⁵⁴ A number of other factors were also responsible. The impetuous López had dedicated only six weeks to hastily gather weapons, transportation and six hundred recruits. His military strategy was minimal, illusive, and at times seemed to exist on mere improvisation. He failed to properly notify the alleged two thousand rebels ready to rise in Vuelta Abajo, which could have diverted government troops to that end of the island. Fear and apathy greeted the foreign invaders in Cárdenas. The Texas model for independence collapsed when even the local American residents refused to join the insurrection. Insubordination

destroyed the capability to achieve further military victories. Although the *Creole* had grounded approaching the dock, López failed to take a harbor pilot along with the other hostages to secure his quick departure. The second grounding almost proved fatal. Gonzales, a key organizer and moving force of the expedition, was not discouraged by his wounds or the filibuster failure, even though his future now seemed uncertain.



Monument to the Kentucky filibusters, facing the Shively Public Library, Louisville, Kentucky.

"As a tribute to the valiant Kentuckians who fought for the liberation of Cuba in 1850."

NOTES

1. Leon Cyprian Soule, *The Know Nothing Party in New Orleans: A Reappraisal* (Baton Rouge: The Louisiana Historical Association, 1961), 3-4, 14.
2. AJG to John A. Quitman, 23 March 1850, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
3. "The Cuba Expedition," *Picayune*, 4 April 1850, 2.
4. U.S. Senate, Ex. Doc. 57, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 22-23, 28.
5. "Passengers--*Per Steamship Falcon*," *Evening Picayune*, 30 March 1850, 1.
6. The names and activities of these spies were recorded in the letter book dated February 1850 to April 1851 of the Spanish consulate in New Orleans. During the riots of August 1851, the consulate was sacked and the letter book taken along with other important documents. After Cuba gained independence, the letter book was donated to the manuscript section of the National Library in Havana. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 200-201.
7. *Ibid.*, 146-147.
8. *Ibid.*, 469, n. 318.
9. *Ibid.*, 302.
10. *Ibid.*, 125.
11. *Ibid.*, 265.
12. "Arrivals at the Principal Hotels," *Picayune*, 5 April 1850, 2; and AJG to John A. Quitman, 5 April 1850, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
13. "Arrivals at the Principal Hotels," *Picayune*, 4 and 5 April 1850, 2.
14. AJG to John A. Quitman, 5 April 1850, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
15. Gonzales, "On to Cuba."
16. AJG to John A. Quitman, 5 April 1850, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. Biographical sketch of Chatham Roberdeau Wheat by his father John Thomas Wheat, John Thomas Wheat Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, from now on cited as SHC.
20. "Arrivals at the Principal Hotels," *Picayune*, 8 July 1848, 2. Wheat's biographer placed his date of arrival in "the fall of 1848." Charles L. Dufour, *Gentle Tiger: The Gallant Life of Roberdeau Wheat* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957), 33.

21. *Ibid.*, 33-34.
22. Biographical sketch of Chatham Roberdeau Wheat by his father John Thomas Wheat, John Thomas Wheat Papers, SHC. Wheat's biographer, while citing some of these motivations for joining the Cuban expedition, erroneously attributes this account to his brother Leo, and omits mention of masonic inducement. Dufour, *Gentle Tiger*, 37.
23. Thomas R. Wolfe to John Thomas Wheat, 9 May 1850, SHC.
24. Gonzales, "On to Cuba."
25. Thomas R. Wolfe to John Thomas Wheat, 9 May 1850, SHC.
26. Herbert Asbury, *The French Quarter: An Informal History of the New Orleans Underworld* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1936), 172-175. Historical data on Bank's Arcade also appears on a plaque on a corner of the building still standing today. The ground floor contains the Liborio Cuban Restaurant, where this writer enjoyed traditional Cuban cuisine.
27. 1850 Louisiana Free Census, First Municipality of New Orleans, 7. The Sigur home no longer exists, a large department store stands in its place.
28. "Arrivals at the Principal Hotels," *Picayune*, 10 April 1850, 2.
29. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 155.
30. "Arrivals at the Principal Hotels," *Picayune*, 11 April 1850, 2.
31. "Markets and Marine," *Evening Picayune*, 11 April 1850, 1.
32. "Arrivals at the Principal Hotels," *Picayune*, 12 April 1850, 2.
33. "Markets and Marine," *Evening Picayune*, 12 April 1850, 1; and "Col. M. C. Taylor's Diary," 80.
34. "Arrivals at the Principal Hotels," *Picayune*, 13 April 1850, 2.
35. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 267.
36. "Arrivals at the Principal Hotels," *Picayune* 20 and 24 April 1850, 2.
37. 1850 Louisiana Free Census, Third District in Orleans Parish, 362, 368.
38. RG 21, U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Louisiana, New Orleans Circuit Court, General Case Files (E-121), Case 1965, "Enrollment No. 183," National Archives; "U.S. Circuit Court," *Crescent*, 13 January 1851, 2.
39. Morales, *Iniciadores y primeros mártires*, II, 196.
40. *New Orleans City Directory, 1851*, 6; 1850 Louisiana Free Census, First Municipality of New Orleans, 393; and Stanley Clisby Arthur, *Old Families of Louisiana* (New Orleans: Hammanson, Publisher, 1931), 49-51. His name is misspelled as "Donahen Augusten" in Rauch, *American Interest in Cuba*, 148, and the mistake was repeated in Brown, *Agents of Manifest Destiny*, 69.

41. 1850 Louisiana Census, reel 238, Third Municipality, Parish of Orleans, 215.
42. *True Delta*, 18 June 1850; and *New Orleans City Directory 1851*, 5, 6, 166.
43. 1850 Louisiana Free Census, Third District in Orleans Parish, 122; and *New Orleans Directory, 1851*, 180.
44. "Examination of Gen. Lopez," *Evening Picayune*, 17 June 1850, 1; *Courier*, 17 June 1850; *Bee*, 18 June 1850; *True Delta*, 18 June 1850; and *New Orleans City Directory 1851*.
45. Charles Testut, *Portraits Littéraires de la Nouvelle-Orleans* (New Orleans: Imprimerie des Veillées Louisianaises, 1850), 103-104; and Edward Larocque Tinker, *Les Ecrits de Langue Française en Louisiane au XIX Siècle* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1932), 196-197.
46. *Proceedings of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the State of Louisiana, at its Annual Communication, held at New Orleans, Jan. 16th, 1854* (New Orleans: Sherman & Wharton, 1854), 104.
47. "Marine News," *Picayune*, 26 April 1850, 3; and RG 21, U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Louisiana, New Orleans Circuit Court, General Case Files (E-121), Case 1965, National Archives.
48. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Crescent*, 13 January 1851, 2.
49. "United States Circuit Court," *Delta*, 14 January 1851, 2.
50. 1850 Louisiana Free Census, Third District in Orleans Parish, 179; *New Orleans Directory, 1851*, 22.
51. "Arrivals at the Principal Hotels," *Picayune*, 27 April 1850, 2. Three days after Quitman moved into the St. Charles Hotel, which served as filibuster headquarters, by coincidence arrived General Worth's widow and her family, including son-in-law Major John T. Sprague, who the following year publicly disclaimed Worth's link to the filibusters. *Ibid.*, 30 April 1850, 2.
52. "United States Circuit Court," *Delta*, 14 January 1851, 2.
53. May, *Quitman*, 238.
54. Thomas R. Wolfe to John Thomas Wheat, 9 May 1850, John Thomas Wheat Papers, SHC.
55. May, *Quitman*, 238.
56. "The Cuba Expedition," *The Evening Picayune*, 23 May 1850, 1.
57. U.S. Senate, Ex. Doc. 57, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 23-24.
58. "Arrivals at the Principal Hotels," *Picayune*, 1 May 1850, 2.
59. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 221-222, which includes a copy of the \$20,000 Cuban bond signed by Judge Cotesworth Pinckney Smith.
60. John Henderson to John A. Quitman, 9 May 1850, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
61. *Ibid.*

62. Theodore O'Hara to Quitman, 17 December 1854, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
63. RG 21, U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Louisiana, New Orleans Circuit Court, General Case Files (E-121), Case 1965, National Archives.
64. O.D.D.O., *The History of the Late Expedition to Cuba*, 4-7.
65. Thomas R. Wolfe to John Thomas Wheat, 9 May 1850, John Thomas Wheat Papers, SHC.
66. "The Cuba Expedition," *Evening Picayune*, 23 May 1850, 1.
67. Gonzales, "On to Cuba."
68. U.S. Senate, Ex. Doc. 57, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 49-50.
69. *Ibid.*, 50-51.
70. "United States Circuit Court," *Delta*, 11 January 1851, 2.
71. 1850 Louisiana Census, Third District in Orleans Parish, 192.
72. "The Alleged Cuba Expedition--The Arrests at New York," *Delta*, 8 May 1851, 1.
73. *Ibid.*; "Circuit Court of the United States," *Delta*, 7 January 1851, 2; Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 274.
74. Harris, "The Public Career of John Louis O'Sullivan," 40, 323.
75. Rauch, *American Interest in Cuba*, 105.
76. 1850 Mississippi Free Census, Hinds County, 122.
77. *Ibid.*, 138.
78. *Ibid.*, 198.
79. O.D.D.O., *History of the Late Expedition*, 46.
80. 1850 Mississippi Free Census, Warren County, 191.
81. 1850 Kentucky Free Census, Shelby County, 387; Quisenberry, *Lopez's Expeditions*, 121; and "Col. M. C. Taylor's Diary in Lopez Cardenas Expedition, 1850," *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, September 1921, 80.
82. Quisenberry, *Lopez's Expeditions*, 58. Most of this account of the Cárdenas expedition was taken from O.D.D.O., *A History of the Late Expedition to Cuba*.
83. 1850 Kentucky Free Census, Louisville, 398; and Quisenberry, *Lopez's Expeditions*, 121.
84. 1850 Kentucky Free Census, Shelby County, 359; and Quisenberry, *Lopez's Expeditions*, 122.
85. 1850 Kentucky Free Census, Boone County, 170; and Quisenberry, *Lopez's Expeditions*, 122.

86. 1850 Kentucky Free Census, Louisville, 235; and Quisenberry, *Lopez's Expeditions*, 122.
87. 1850 Kentucky Free Census, Campbell County, City of Newport, 20; and Quisenberry, *Lopez's Expeditions*, 122.
88. John Henderson to John A. Quitman, 9 May 1850, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA; and "Examination of Gen. Lopez," *Picayune*, 16 June 1850, 2.
89. U.S. Senate, Ex. Doc. 57, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 26.
90. "The Cuba Expedition," *The Evening Picayune*, 16 May 1850, 1.
91. U.S. Senate, Ex. Doc. 57, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 27. A century later, Cuban freedom fighters in the United States similarly boasted publicly of future invasion plans against the Fidel Castro regime. Weeks before the 17 April 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, exile publications were showing photos of the Cuban Liberation Army in training and warning Castro to "prepare your submarine" for a quick exit, while exiled political leaders were announcing their plans for an uprising, which Castro quickly crushed with massive arrests. See: *El Avance Criollo* (Miami), March and April 1961, and Sam Pope Brewer, "Castro Foes Call Cubans to Arms; Predict Uprising," *The New York Times*, 9 April 1961, 1.
92. U. S. Senate, Ex. Doc. 57, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 25-26.
93. *Ibid.*, 29-31; and "The Cuban Expedition," *New York Tribune*, 21 May 1850, 4.
94. "Expedition to Cuba," *Evening Picayune*, 27 May 1850, 1.
95. "Cheering News from Cuba," *Picayune*, 26 May 1850, 1.
96. "Late News from Ports in Cuba," *New York Tribune*, 23 May 1850, 8.
97. O.D.D.O., *History of the Late Expedition*, 23-24.
98. *Ibid.*, 27.
99. *Ibid.*, 59-60.
100. *Ibid.*, 31-32.
101. *Ibid.*, 34.
102. *Ibid.*, 45-46, 50.
103. *Ibid.*, 54.
104. *Ibid.*, 64.
105. Gonzales, "On to Cuba."
106. O.D.D.O., *History of the Late Expedition*, 61.
107. *Ibid.*, 58; and Gonzales, "On to Cuba."

108. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 306.
109. *Cuba en la Mano*, 43.
110. "Callender Irvine Fayssoux" autobiographical manuscript, Callender I. Fayssoux Collection, Latin American Library, Tulane University. He is erroneously identified as "True Fayssoux" in Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 307.
111. Gonzales, "On to Cuba"; and "The Late Piratical Assault on Cuba," *National Intelligencer*, 29 May 1850, 3.
112. "Cheering News from Cuba," *Picayune*, 26 May 1850, 1; and "Recortes de periódicos de Cuba sobre los sucesos de Cárdenas," *Boletín del Archivo Nacional*, July-December 1920, 193-194. The Captain of the port of Cárdenas is erroneously identified as Miguel Baldasano y Ros in Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 306, 309, 346.
113. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 340.
114. "Report of Col. O'Hara, Kentucky Reg't.," *Evening Picayune*, 28 June 1850, 1.
115. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 300.
116. O.D.D.O., *History of the Late Expedition*, 65-66; and "Report of Col. O'Hara, Kentucky Reg't."
117. O.D.D.O., *History of the Late Expedition*, 65-66, 68; "The Late Piratical Assault...," 3; and Gonzales, "On to Cuba."
118. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 308-310.
119. "Report of Col. O'Hara, Kentucky Reg't."
120. "From Cardenas," *Evening Picayune*, 8 June 1850, 1.
121. "Report of Col. O'Hara, Kentucky Reg't."; and Gonzales, "On to Cuba."
122. O.D.D.O., *History of the Late Expedition*, 67; "Report of Major Hawkins, Kentucky Reg't.," *Evening Picayune*, 28 June 1850, 1; "The Late Piratical Assault...," 3; and Dufour, *Gentle Tiger*, 48-49.
123. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 313-314.
124. "Report of Lieut. Col. Bell, of the La. Reg't.," *Evening Picayune*, 28 June 1850, 1.
125. O.D.D.O., *History of the Late Expedition*, 69.
126. Gonzales, "On to Cuba."
127. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 312.
128. *Ibid.*, 323.
129. O.D.D.O., *History of the Late Expedition*, 72.

130. Justo Zaragoza, *Las Insurrecciones en Cuba*, I (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel G. Hernandez, 1872), 596; "Recortes de periódicos de Cuba...", 194; "More About the Cuban Stampede," *New York Tribune*, 30 May 1850, 6; and "From Cardenas," *Evening Picayune*, 8 June 1850, 1.
131. "Cheering News from Cuba!," *Picayune*, 26 May 1850, 1; and Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 317.
132. O.D.D.O., *History of the Late Expedition*, 71.
133. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 333-334.
134. "From Cárdenas," *Evening Picayune*, 8 June 1850, 1.
135. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 364.
136. *Ibid.*
137. O.D.D.O., *History of the Late Expedition*, 72; Zaragoza, *Las Insurrecciones en Cuba*, 596; and "More About the Cuban Stampede," 6.
138. O.D.D.O., *History of the Late Expedition*, 72.
139. "The Late Piratical Assault...", 3.
140. O.D.D.O., *History of the Late Expedition*, 73.
141. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 349; and "Report of Lieut. Col. Bell, of the La. Reg't," *Evening Picayune*, 28 June 1850, 1.
142. O.D.D.O., *History of the Late Expedition*, 72-73.
143. *Picayune*, 31 May 1850, 1.
144. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 351.
145. O.D.D.O., *History of the Late Expedition*, 76.
146. "From Matanzas," *Evening Picayune*, 8 June 1850, 1; "A Mexican War Hero Shot at Cardenas," *New York Tribune*, 11 June 1850, 4; and *New York Tribune*, 12 June 1850, 4.
147. Gonzales, "On to Cuba;" and O.D.D.O., *History of the Late Expedition*, 77-78.
148. *Ibid.*
149. Joseph T. Durkin, *Confederate Navy Chief: Stephen R. Mallory* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1987), 32-33.
150. Caldwell, *The Lopez Expeditions to Cuba*, 72.
151. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 361-362.
152. *Picayune*, 31 May 1850, 1.

153. U.S. Senate, Ex. Doc. 57, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 47-48.

154. Theodore O'Hara to William Nelson, 18 March 1854, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA; and Theodore O'Hara to Quitman, 17 December 1854, *Ibid.*

CHAPTER V

THE DEFIANT DEFENDANT

López, Sánchez Iznaga and several followers departed Key West on Thursday, 24 May, on the steamer *Isabel* from Havana, landing in Savannah at 4 a.m. the following day and lodged in the City Hotel on the water front. Their appearance prompted the populace to bubble with excitement. The Spanish Vice-Consul, John G. Doon, immediately wired Secretary of State John Clayton of their presence, who ordered the arrest of the filibuster leader. López was taken into custody that Friday at 8 p.m. by the federal Marshall and presented before U.S. District Court Judge John C. Nicoll.¹ The spectators responded with tumultuous applause as López approached the bench, prompting an admonition from Nicoll. The General was gratuitously represented by forty-three-year-old Robert Milledge Charlton and Colonel William B. Gaulden, who demanded a prompt hearing.² The eloquent Charlton had been a state legislator, Savannah mayor, U.S. district attorney and judge of the Eastern Judicial Circuit. His literary and poetic streak appeared in *Knickerbocker Magazine*, which had been edited by John O'Sullivan's brother-in-law.³

U.S. District Attorney Henry Williams asked for a twenty-four hour judicial postponement to gather evidence, but the magistrate denied it. Four witnesses were presented who gave sketchy second-hand accounts and none could affirm that the expedition had been organized in the United States for the purpose of attacking a friendly nation. After deliberating for a few minutes, Nicoll dismissed the charges. Hundreds of supporters in and outside the courthouse clapped and cheered wildly, and accompanied the General back to his quarters for a celebration and speeches. Among those present were "All the Georgia majors, colonels and captains" of the militia. Gaulden translated for López, who denounced Spanish rule, which had taken everything from him except

his undying love for Cuba. The filibuster leader promised to continue fighting for Cuban liberty so that his people could enjoy the same democratic institutions as in the United States, and concluded by saying, "I am resolved to become a citizen of these United States."⁴

López and his coterie departed for New Orleans by way of Mobile on Saturday morning, the 26th.⁵ Williams wired the results to Secretary Clayton, who at the same time received a note from Calderón demanding the enforcement of the Neutrality Law against López "and the rest of the pirates who are at Key West." The Spanish Minister warned that if this contempt for the law and the presidential proclamation went unpunished, the "wicked" act would be quickly repeated. Clayton immediately ordered the federal prosecutors in Mobile and New Orleans to arrest López for violation of the Neutrality Law.⁶

The General and his companions reached Mobile on the 31st and were visited by a number of citizens. López gave a speech in Spanish, which was translated, before going to New Orleans that same afternoon on the mail boat.⁷ The group arrived in Pass Christian, Mississippi, the next day,⁸ and informed John Henderson of the events in Cárdenas and Savannah. The filibusters remaining in Key West had departed within a week, except most of the wounded. Many went to Tampa, including the twenty-six deserters of the Cárdenas Spanish garrison, and from there they headed for other ports.⁹ The deserters finally settled in New Orleans a month later.

The Spanish Minister in Washington received news on Sunday, 26 May, that a large number of weapons were going to be sent by the Cuban Junta from New York to New Orleans to support the insurrection, and that volunteers were enlisting in New York for the endeavor. He immediately informed Secretary of State Clayton, and the Cabinet met that night to issue arrest

warrants against the filibusters.¹⁰ The next day, the first person to be taken into custody was Miguel Teurbe Tolón, editor of *La Verdad* in New York, charged with violation of the Neutrality Law and arraigned for a grand jury appearance. His \$5,000 bail was secured by Gaspar Agramonte. As Teurbe Tolón left the federal courthouse, he gave a brief speech to a crowd of Cubans and other supporters gathered outside, who responded with cheers.¹¹

The American press described the Cuban expedition according to their political inclination. Democratic and Southern newspapers were generally supportive, as was the New York *Sun*. The Northern Whig press was highly critical, with one Iowa publication calling it a "Slaveocratic Crusade."¹² Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune* called the patriots "Cubaneers," alluding to pirates. In contrast, when reporting eighteen months earlier that the Polk Administration had not interfered with Colonel White's Yucatán expedition, the *Tribune* had criticized that military assistance would have been suppressed by the Government if it had been destined for the Irish revolutionaries.¹³ In Philadelphia, the Chesnut Street Theater presented a drama called the "Invasion of Cuba," in which an actor played the role of General López.¹⁴

The General was arrested when he arrived in New Orleans on 7 June, and taken before the U.S. District Court the next day. The *Picayune* court reporter described him as "about 45 years of age, middle size, rather stout, dark complexion, with very black eyes, and black eye brows, high forehead, hair slightly gray, and with gray whiskers under his throat. He was dressed very plain, in blue linen pants, and a black dress coat, dark vest and blue cravat, with no attempt at show, and without anything particularly striking about him to attract attention."¹⁵

The interrogation was conducted by U.S. District Attorney Logan Hunton. The forty-four-year-old Virginia native had served in the Kentucky legislature, and in 1838 established a law

office in St. Louis, Missouri. Hunton had been a delegate to the 1840 Whig convention and in 1844 moved to New Orleans, where President Taylor appointed him to office.¹⁶ The federal magistrate in New Orleans ordered the U.S. Marshal in Key West to detain filibuster organizers Gonzales, O'Hara, Wheat, Pickett, Bell and Hawkins, along with *Creole* Captain Lewis, and deliver them to him. All were arrested except Wheat, who had earlier fled to Chapel Hill, North Carolina, where his father had recently been appointed to the faculty of the University of North Carolina.¹⁷ Lt. Colonel Bunch, commander of the Mississippi Regiment, had also slipped away. He and Wheat were the only commanding officers of the Army of Liberation who failed to give a military report of operations to Adjutant General Gonzales.¹⁸

While recuperating in the Mallory home, Gonzales was introduced to influential Key West merchants Asa F. Tift and William H. Wall, close friends of Mallory. They each reserved a vessel for Gonzales in case he wanted to flee and Mallory always had a fast rowboat ready to take him to a hiding place in Boca Chica Key.¹⁹ Freemasonry cemented the relationship: Tift was a member of Dade Lodge No. 14 in Key West and had been its Junior Warden.²⁰ Gonzales instead was taken to New Orleans on 15 June in a sloop chartered by the U.S. Marshal, which also gave passage to thirty other expeditionaries. As the vessel departed on the five-day voyage, the filibusters defiantly displayed the Cuban flag from the masthead.²¹

In New Orleans, Sánchez Iznaga wrote on the 15th to Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar in Mobile, Alabama, to inform him that López had been arrested and was being tenaciously interrogated by the government. He indicated that the judicial process would not hamper their revolutionary efforts, and would take "advantage of every opportunity, for carrying out our ardent and constant purpose." Sánchez Iznaga asked Lamar to always inform them of his whereabouts,

so the Cubans could receive "the ideas which may occur to you concerning the matter, for the advantage of the enterprise." To baffle possible government postal interference, Sánchez Iznaga wrote in Spanish and said that López wanted his correspondence addressed to Laurent Sigur.²² This letter indicates that Lamar was involved in the covert "enterprise" before it sailed for Cárdenas, although no previous correspondence has been found to elaborate this connection.

The fifty-year-old Lamar had started his public life as a Georgia state legislator, attorney, and publisher of the Columbus *Enquirer*, which radically advocated the doctrine of states' rights. He went to Texas in 1836 to avenge the death of his neighbor James D. Fannin, Jr., killed in the Goliad Massacre. Fannin had also been Lamar's masonic Grand Master in Columbian Lodge No. 7 in Columbus.²³ Lamar led the cavalry charge at the battle of San Jacinto, prompting Texas independence. He was elected Texas vice-president in 1836 and president of the republic from 1838 to 1841. Lamar campaigned for Texas annexation in the United States because it would save slavery and stop British encroachment. When the Mexican War started, he raised a volunteer company that fought under General Zachary Taylor at the battle of Monterrey in 1846, and was commended for bravery in the official battle report. Two years later, he served one term in the Texas legislature. By 1850, when Lamar was in touch with the Cuban revolutionaries, he spent most of his time writing and traveling.²⁴ One source of initial contact could have been *La Verdad* editor Jane Cazneau, to whom Lamar had dedicated a book of his poems. Freemasonry was also a fraternal link between the Cubans and Lamar.²⁵

The New Orleans Grand Jury on 21 June returned indictments for violation of the 1818 Neutrality Law against Narciso López, Ambrosio Gonzales, John A. Quitman, John L. O'Sullivan, Theodore O'Hara, Laurent Sigur, John Henderson, Chatham Roberdeau Wheat,

Cotesworth Pinckney Smith, Donatien Augustin, Thomas Theodore Hawkins, John F. Pickett, J. A. Hayden, N. J. Bunce [sic], Peter Smith, and William H. Bell.²⁶ Four days later, Secretary Clayton instructed New York District Attorney Hall to indict expeditionaries Juan Manuel Macías and José M. Hernández, who were living in New York City after returning from Cárdenas, but Hall did not take action, responding that they had not violated the law "in New York," where there was general sympathy for the Cuban invasion.²⁷

Support of the filibusters was greater in the South, where on 23 June López was invited to participate in a masonic anniversary in Gainsville, Mississippi. The General arrived that evening on the steamer *Amazon* from New Orleans, accompanied by Gonzales, Sánchez Iznaga and Teodoro Gotay, a Puerto Rican who had joined them at Cárdenas. Gonzales translated for López the acclamation rendered by forty-eight-year-old Colonel Thomas J. Ives, head of the welcoming committee, who tendered his guests "a homely but hearty welcome to a soil consecrated to liberty, where we have homes and sanctuaries for our friends, arms and graves for our enemies."²⁸ The Cubans returned to New Orleans after the festivities.

The impetuous López wanted to launch another expedition before the trial started in six months. He sent O'Sullivan with a proposition for Quitman to join the new endeavor.²⁹ O'Sullivan met Quitman in Jackson, Mississippi, on the evening of 25 June to express "the anxious hope" entertained by him and "our friends in New Orleans," that Quitman would make a favorable decision on "the result so much desired by all." Quitman reiterated his position of not going to Cuba until there was a popular uprising. The next morning, O'Sullivan wrote to Quitman that his commitment would mean that "all the required means will at once abound," within the period in which "it is so important that decisive action should be had." Quitman apparently had

not been in contact with López since April, as O'Sullivan suggested that if the Governor "should have occasion to write to the General," he should address the envelope to Madame Trémonlet in the Sigur home, where López still resided, as this was the method agreed by the general to avoid "any possible curiosity in the Post Office."³⁰

On 2 July, Gonzales left the Crescent City carrying a letter from Henderson to Quitman. Both men wanted the governor to lead a renewed effort for "the independance [*sic*] of Cuba." In spite of the Cárdenas failure, Henderson was optimistic that the action had "*planted the thought*, has embodied the *idea*, has given the fever to Cuban Revolution & independance [*sic*] that will never be obliterated."³¹ Henderson's advocacy of Cuban independence to Quitman indicates that they were following the Texas model, since both men ultimately wanted the annexation of the island to the South.

Henderson emphasized that there was a "pervading & almost universal confidence" that Quitman, more than any other individual, could "render this cause effective," and with his participation "there will no longer be want of money or material." The letter stated that the South could provide more than one hundred thousand men if necessary, that the best officers of the U.S. Army "would contribute largely to your assistance," and a couple of war steamers would be procured to sweep the Spanish Navy off the coast of Cuba. Henderson concluded by indicating that Gonzales would personally give Quitman "all the Cuban items from which you will determine your course," and that he would go to Jackson within a fortnight.³²

For the new endeavor, López and Gonzales went on a recruitment drive, stopping in Savannah on 21 July and taking rooms at the Pulaski House.³³ The next day they went to Charleston, South Carolina, and arrived in Washington City on the 25th.³⁴ López returned to

Savannah, where on 1 August he applied for initiation in Solomon's Lodge No. 1, the oldest and most historic masonic temple in Georgia, which is still active today. The Spanish government, through its spy network in the United States, was closely following his itinerary. The Permanent Military Committee of the Council of War for the Island of Cuba, passed judgment by default on 19 August against the members of the Cuban Junta indicted the previous December. The tribunal, by unanimous vote, condemned to death by garrote: Ambrosio J. Gonzales, José M. Sánchez Iznaga, Cirilo Villaverde, Juan Manuel Macías and Pedro de Agüero; to transmarine imprisonment and perpetual banishment from Cuba and Puerto Rico: Victoriano de Arrieta, Gaspar Betancourt Cisneros, and Cristobal Madán, "with payment of costs, and also the damages sustained by individuals and the State from the invasion of Cárdenas."³⁵ López was already under the death penalty for the 1848 Trinidad conspiracy.

Six days later, the Cuban exile community from New York, Philadelphia and Boston, gave López a banquet at the Barnum Hotel in Manhattan. A group of Cuban ladies awarded López a sword and a Cuban flag.³⁶ Gonzales stayed in New York, while López and John O'Sullivan later headed south. They went to Charleston and arrived in Savannah on the steamer *Jasper* on 8 September.³⁷ The next day, López returned to Solomon's Lodge No. 1, where in a special "at sight" ceremony that was concluded on the 10th, taking into consideration his former masonic initiation in Spain, he received the Master Mason degree.³⁸ López organized a base of support whose activists included Savannah Mayor Richard Wayne and John Lama, both members of his masonic lodge. The thirty-four-year-old Lama was an "importer and wholesale dealer in champagne, brandies, whiskies, wines, segars and groceries," established at 166 1/2 Bay Street. He had emigrated from France in 1842 and soon joined Solomon's Lodge, No. 1. The following

year he would name his son Narcisse in honor of López.³⁹ After O'Sullivan departed, López wrote to him and Sánchez Iznaga in New York, recommending that they become freemasons.⁴⁰ López returned to the Sigur home in New Orleans later that month to prepare the next invasion.

Also returning to the Crescent City, for different motivations, was Colonel Chatham Roberdeau Wheat, commander of the Louisiana Regiment, who had been hiding with his parents in North Carolina since returning from Cárdenas slightly wounded in the shoulder. He surrendered to federal authorities and posted a one thousand dollar surety bond in court on 25 October and resumed his law practice.⁴¹ Wheat apparently did not renew contact with López, although manifestations of filibuster activism were evident in New Orleans. At a house on Cedar Street, denominated the "School of the Soldier," there were weekly drills and practices of military tactics by a group of about eighty men preparing to invade Cuba. Doctor Daniel Henry Burnett attended a few of these sessions and gained the confidence of the trainees. Burnett later decided to infiltrate these "common disturbers of the peace of the world and pirates upon mankind," and denounce their activities because it would have "evil consequences" for the United States and Spain.⁴² During the month of October, López received a "wall of correspondence" from dissatisfied elements throughout Cuba. He secretly sent nineteen revolutionary commissions to disgruntled Spanish army officers in the island who were former comrades, liberals and freemasons. Half of the documents were taken to Havana by the niece of one of the officers. These included a brigadier general reputed to be "the best infantry officer in Cuba," a lieutenant colonel and a retired colonel who was a wealthy merchant in Havana.⁴³

López and his supporters believed that this was sufficient backing to start an insurrection before his federal trial began in December. Henderson, who had failed to bring Quitman into the

fold the previous summer, tried again in a letter from New Orleans on 6 November urging him to become more active in the movement, which was "a Southern question" whose magnitude should not be overestimated. He asked Quitman for "further pecuniary assistance" to allow López to "move again."⁴⁴ The next day Sigur, who had never met Quitman, informed him of their plans for a second effort which could be done "promptly, surely & gloriously" to vindicate the initial failure. Sigur had already invested great money and labor into this enterprise and was asking Quitman, Judge Boyd and "other friends of Cuban independence in Mississippi" for four thousand dollars which would allow López to land in Cuba in a fortnight and "write the epitaph of the Spanish Government." As a result, the "freesoiler" administration would not "dare prosecute the friends of Cuba in the U.S. when the Cubans are struggling at home for Liberty & independence," and those under indictment would be vindicated.⁴⁵

Quitman apparently did not comply with this appeal, as López failed to land in Cuba before the trial began. The Governor had maintained his distance from the Cuban general after the Cárdenas fiasco, due to a possible dislike of his personality. Although Quitman was active in the Cuban cause until 1855, there is no evidence that he ever again conspired with López. The governor had channeled all his efforts into opposing the Compromise of 1850 after it passed in Congress in September. He began stumping for secession in October but was soon prostrate with malaria for weeks. After a slow recovery, on 4 December he became founder and president of the extremist Central Southern Rights Association of Mississippi.⁴⁶

Nine days later, Cristobal Madán arrived in Jackson, Mississippi, for a private meeting with Quitman.⁴⁷ The federal trial was scheduled to start in three days, and Madán probably had treacherous intentions. Since March, he had been using his wife to secretly negotiate with

Spanish Minister Calderón for a pardon and their return to Cuba.⁴⁸ The trial in the U.S. Circuit Court in New Orleans began on 16 December, Judge Theodore McCaleb presiding, due to the absence of Judge McKinley. The court clerk called out the names of Narciso López, Theodore O'Hara, John Pickett, Thomas Hawkins, William H. Bell, Chatham Roberdeau Wheat, John Henderson, Armstrong Irvine Lewis, Laurent J. Sigur, Donatien Augustin, Ambrosio Gonzales, John Quitman and John O'Sullivan, the last three not being present.⁴⁹ Hawkins had checked into the St. Charles Hotel that morning and Gonzales arrived there on the 17th.⁵⁰ O'Sullivan would join them a week later,⁵¹ after promenading on the streets of Havana "as boldly as if he cared nothing for all Spain."⁵² The federal census enumerator arrived at the St. Charles on the 19th and finished his work on Christmas Day. He either missed Gonzales and Hawkins, or they had moved elsewhere, as O'Sullivan is the only defendant who appeared in the census of the hotel guests. He was described as a thirty-three-year-old New York merchant.⁵³

When the judicial process resumed on 2 January 1851 before a densely crowded courtroom, O'Sullivan and Peter Smith appeared for the first time. Defense attorneys for those who had not pled to their indictments spent most of the day arguing a motion indicating thirteen errors of the indictment rendered by the grand jury. When it was overruled, the Henderson case began.⁵⁴ The defendant, legally representing himself, objected to the Government employment of attorney Judah P. Benjamin, as assistant counsel to U.S. District Attorney Logan Hunton. Benjamin would later become Louisiana Senator and Confederate Secretary of War and Secretary of State.⁵⁵ Henderson stated that he held nothing personal against Benjamin, but considered his appointment "an act of caprice" and interference by the Executive power, dictating on the judiciary, which he termed as "an encroachment" on his rights. He spent a good portion of the

day arguing the limits of Presidential power. Hunton replied that he had employed Benjamin because it was physically impossible for him to prosecute the case by himself, due to the many defendants and their counsellors, and then the trial adjourned for the day.⁵⁶

The next morning, Judge McCaleb rejected the defense arguments, concluding that no direct or indirect communication had transpired between the President and the court, that employment of one additional special prosecutor was not unreasonable and that no law prohibited nor authorized it. Jury selection was then called and arguments ensued over individual qualifications and exemptions, including those of some foreigners on the panel. Ferdinand F. Evans, a Camp Street grocer,⁵⁷ was sworn after stating that he had scanned over newspaper reports of the proceedings, but did not base his opinions merely on printed accounts. N. H. Brigham, a thirty-year-old Massachusetts commission merchant on Camp Street, living in the same boarding house as *Crescent* editor John Duncan,⁵⁸ was also sworn after declaring that he had "read something about the matter in the papers," but had not formed an opinion. Potential jurors, W. L. Cockerille; B. M. Norman, a forty-year-old New York stationer on Camp Street;⁵⁹ P. R. Fell, a crockery and glassware merchant on Common Street; and Charles Stoughton, a thirty-three-year-old Massachusetts grocer and wine merchant on Camp Street,⁶⁰ were dismissed after saying they believed that Henderson was guilty. Commission merchant Daniel Morgan provoked laughter in the court when stating that he "had made up his mind that all the persons engaged in the expedition were guilty and should be convicted." Ten others, mostly merchants, were also rejected for being predisposed.⁶¹ Two people were excused for ill health. Commission merchants G. L. Dolsen and William C. Lacy were rejected for lacking citizenship. The next jurors sworn were H. D. McLean, a thirty-six-year-old New Jersey merchant who lived in the

Veranda Hotel;⁶² Henry E. Lawrence, a coffee and sugar broker;⁶³ and J. P. Coulon, a Magazine Street miller,⁶⁴ who claimed not to have an opinion regarding Henderson's guilt or innocence. The court adjourned when the pool of forty-eight was exhausted, and the five chosen were cautioned not to talk to anyone about the case.⁶⁵

On Saturday, 4 January, businessman Cuthbert Bullitt, brother of the *Picayune* editor, was brought into court by a federal Marshall and fined ten dollars for ignoring the jury summons. He was quickly discharged after admitting having already formed an opinion. Two other businessmen were similarly brought to court, fined the same amount, and discharged for being predisposed. Some thirty other jurors were questioned and dismissed, many for not being citizens and others being exempt as members of fire brigades, before the last seven completed the panel: Cyrus L. Carter, a thirty-four-year-old Massachusetts wholesale clothier who had arrived with his family in Louisiana in the 1840s;⁶⁶ William B. McCutcheon, a hardware and cutlery dealer;⁶⁷ A. H. May, a twenty-seven-year-old South Carolinian commission merchant on Poydras Street, recently arrived with his family after more than ten years in Alabama;⁶⁸ August W. Walker, a thirty-one-year-old Virginia merchant, recently settled into a \$98,000 estate on Carondelet Row with his wife and five children after more than a decade in Florida;⁶⁹ Moses Greenwood, a forty-two-year-old Massachusetts commission merchant who had migrated his family to Arkansas a decade earlier and later moved them to New Orleans;⁷⁰ Mathew Martin, Greenwood's next-door neighbor, a forty-three-year-old Irish-born grocer who had recently relocated from Tennessee with his wife and three children;⁷¹ and Henry J. Parsons, a Camp Street retail piano dealer,⁷² was chosen jury foreman.⁷³ The prosecution stacked the jury with recently migrated Northerners.

When the trial started on Monday, Henderson requested that Hunton present in court the

letters of instructions from Secretary of State Clayton, regarding the prosecution, and a copy of the District Attorney's response the previous May, which indicated that the expeditionaries had been very careful not to violate the law. The prosecution agreed to provide the documents and began the case with the reading of the indictment. In his opening statement to the jury, Hunton said that unimpeachable witnesses would show that in May 1850 a military expedition was organized in New Orleans to overthrow the Spanish colonial government in Cuba, with which the United States was at peace. This enterprise was led by General López, who took them to Cárdenas, where a hostile engagement ensued, with "many persons being unlawfully slain by the invaders." The District Attorney stated that although Henderson did not go with the expedition, he was one of the "master-spirits" of the affair, providing aid, countenance and support; purchased the *Creole* under another name for the purpose of the invasion; and that he purchased Cuban Bonds to finance the enterprise. Hunton concluded by asking the jury to proclaim to the world with their verdict "that our national honor shall be preserved, the faith of treaties observed, and that the first duty of the citizen is obedience to the law. And, that when our Government is at peace with all nations, the people shall not be at war."⁷⁴

The first prosecution witness was John Higgins, a young man from Cincinnati, who described leaving New Orleans on the *Creole*, not knowing he was headed for Cuba, but partaking in an "expedition...." Henderson interrupted to indicate that the indictment specified that a military expedition was set on foot *to be* carried on, and did not charge that it *was* accomplished, and therefore evidence could not be introduced showing that an expedition actually left from the United States. He then asked the witness, "Do you know that John Henderson did begin an expedition?"⁷⁵ The defendant then read the statute governing the offence and

scrutinized the words and grammar of the indictment, claiming that it lacked legal basis because it was wrongly construed and contained tautological expressions.⁷⁶ Henderson then commented on the Neutrality Law, pointing out the vagueness of its phrasing and describing the various interpretations it had received in previous cases. He stressed that the parties involved in the Round Island affair were not prosecuted because the expedition had been frustrated. Henderson then cited many opinions on the clauses of the 1818 Act. He contended that the indictment did not charge him with providing the *Creole*, therefore all evidence in that respect was inadmissible. To buttress his arguments, Henderson cited from more than twenty court reports.⁷⁷ The trial adjourned at three o'clock before Henderson could finish his argument. The sympathetic *Delta* described his four-hour speech as "exceedingly able and ingenious," with severe logic and nice distinctions.⁷⁸ The *Daily Bee*, which billed itself as the "Official Journal of the State, General Council, First Municipality and Board of Liquidators," tersely reported the trial. It described Henderson's defense that day as "a most uninteresting argument" which "is not important enough to call for particular notice."⁷⁹

In the next session, Henderson continued flaying the indictment until noon. Hunton then spoke of the validity of the charges and the evidence he would introduce. He objected to Henderson's challenge of the indictment during the trial, which should have been done in a pre-trial motion to dismiss the charges. The prosecutor stressed that an expedition, in fact, was started and carried out against a foreign State at peace with the United States. He then adduced numerous cases to support his views. As special prosecutor Benjamin prepared to present his argument at two o'clock in the afternoon, juror Greenwood asked permission to leave to attend an important business matter. When neither defense or prosecution objected, the trial adjourned

one hour early until ten o'clock next morning.⁸⁰

The Cuban filibusters were not dissuaded from their activities by the ongoing trial or the possibility of their conviction and imprisonment. López was writing on 7 January to Macías in Charleston, South Carolina, instructing him to organize some twenty men with their horses and weapons. López specified he was referring to American cavalrymen, not Cubans, because he knew that very few Cuban emigres would follow him and that he would have to liberate the fatherland, any way he could do it, with men other than Cubans.⁸¹ Macías had been residing at 66 State Street, Charleston, since the previous month with Miguel Teurbe Tolón, who joined the López Junta after the dissolution of Madan's Council. The other Junta members in Charleston included novelist Cirilo Villaverde, poet Leopoldo Turla, Julio Arozamena, Antonio Porto and Alejandro Angulo Guridi.⁸² Their correspondence is generally void of concern regarding the judicial process of the filibuster leaders.

The trial continued on Wednesday, 8 January, with Benjamin speaking for half an hour on the validity of the statute and the indictment in supporting the prosecution. He announced he was unable to extend his argument as intended due to an illness afflicting him since the previous evening. Henderson then submitted a motion for a subpoena to compel the District Attorney to produce the correspondence he exchanged with Secretary of State Clayton regarding the expedition. The order was granted and Hunton produced three letters. Henderson then responded to Benjamin, contending that the indictment did not mention the intention of the accused to carry on the expedition. The prolonged Henderson discourse prompted some jurors to request permission to go home. McCaleb discharged the jury by consent until the next day, when Henderson continued to attack the indictment until one thirty p.m.⁸³ Although the *Daily Delta*

gave extensive coverage of these legal arguments, the *Daily Bee* announced in a single sentence that the Court had been "occupied in discussing points of law, the particulars of which we omit, as they can be of no interest to the public at large."⁸⁴

The Henderson trial resumed at 10 o'clock on Friday morning. Judge McCaleb read a lengthy opinion on the points raised by the defendant as to the validity of the indictment. He described Henderson's arguments as "elaborate and ingenious," but cited case law in ruling against him. The judge stated that the indictment did not need precise phraseology, except when technical words were necessary to characterize the offence; that it need not particularize all the acts that initiated the expedition or to specify *how* the means were prepared or provided; and that the charges were sufficiently explicit to admit "all legal testimony which shows that the expedition was military in its character, or to have been designed against the dominions of Spain..."⁸⁵

The prosecution then recalled their first witness, John Higgins, who gave a detailed account of his embarkation on the *Creole*, believing that he was going to Chagres instead of Cuba. He detailed the expeditionary rendezvous near Yucatan, the landing of 520 men at Cárdenas, the battle, and the retreat to Key West. He acknowledged the men were not organized or armed until they were in international waters. Mississippian A. B. Moore, who deserted at Mugerres Island, confirmed generally the testimony of the previous witness, and said that he departed New Orleans in the *Creole*, being told by a friend that they were going to invade Cuba. The next prosecution witness was John Reed, who stated that he boarded the *Creole* believing he was going to Chagres. His unconventional replies to the interrogation elicited frequent bursts of laughter in the courtroom. The trial recessed at three o'clock for a period of two hours.

William Redding was then sworn and said that he joined a company in Cincinnati formed by Captain Hardy, to go work in a California mine. The details of his statement were almost the same as those of Reed. John H. Finch then testified that he joined Hardy's group in Ohio, departed New Orleans on the *Georgianna*, was captured by the Spaniards, cruelly imprisoned and tried in Havana and later released to American authorities. Special prosecutor Benjamin then entered as evidence the port clearance of the *Creole*, and the court adjourned at eight o'clock in the evening.⁸⁶

On Saturday morning, Finch concluded his testimony, saying that Colonel Pickett had taken the Cuban flag aboard the *Georgianna*, but that it was never used for the vessel. Robert Geddes followed on the stand and said that he had been part owner of the *Creole*, which was sold to Henderson, with the title made out to William H. White. Henderson raised an objection when Geddes was asked if the defendant had given his individual notes for the ship.⁸⁷ Henderson warned the witness that his answer might render him liable to prosecution, but the District Attorney stated he would not charge Geddes, who proceeded to give a full account of the *Creole* sale transaction consumed the previous April. Geddes stated that Henderson asked him if the vessel was seaworthy, since it would be used by General López for an expedition, and asked that he say nothing until it sailed. Geddes reaffirmed these statements when cross-examined by Henderson, affirming, "I did not suppose you purchased her for your own private use." At this point, Henderson told the jury that he had a confession to make, and acknowledged that he bought the *Creole* for the expedition. The prosecution then entered as final evidence the port clearances of the *Georgianna* and *Susan Loud*, to demonstrate that they had left New Orleans for Chagres, carrying ballast, passengers and their baggage. The District Attorney then rested his

case.⁸⁸

The defense decided to call only two witnesses, Ambrosio José Gonzales and Laurent J. Sigur. Gonzales took the witness stand after midday, maintaining a ramrod-straight posture during the interrogation, conscious that all eyes in the courtroom were upon him. He gave an account of his arrival in the United States in 1848 as a political exile. Gonzales indicated that López had been sentenced to death by the Spanish crown for his revolutionary activities in Cuba. He added that the Junta publicly formed in New York was presided over by López, and that three of its four Cuban members disembarked in Cárdenas, while one remained. This was an indirect jab at Cirilo Villaverde, whose failure to land in Cuba with his comrades was a sensitive point. Gonzales stated that the Junta took advice from Congressmen and "officers of high station" on how to accomplish their project "without violating the laws of the United States." Gonzales testified that he "has been very intimate with López; more than any other person," and that since López does not speak English, he served as his translator in most of the conversations with Henderson.⁸⁹

Gonzales said that he was introduced to Henderson at the White House, that López met him during the first week of April, and that Henderson was not present during the expedition arrangements made with the Kentuckians. The witness emphasized that "no act of military organization occurred in the United States," the Junta had merely arranged "an emigration," and that the *Susan Loud* departed from New Orleans without weapons. Special prosecutor Benjamin cautioned the witness against swearing to something he had not observed. If this was an attempt to bait Gonzales, it worked. The Cuban replied that "from his intimate connection with the expedition, he perhaps knew as much, if not more, than most who were engaged in it in relation

to all the details."⁹⁰ Under stress, his vanity betrayed him, by admitting he knew so much. This statement proved a stumbling block during cross-examination.

Gonzales spoke the truth when stating that the accused was not involved in the financial or military part of the *Susan Loud* emigration, but did not say that those arrangements were made by Chatam Roberdeau Wheat. He acknowledged departing in the *Creole*, which retrieved weapons from the Mexican Gulf railroad depot in the lower Mississippi, but omitted mention of Henderson's participation. Gonzales indicated that "promises were made in the United States of commissions for offices under the republic of Cuba," but that, in his opinion, "these promises, whether verbal or written, were not commissions." The only commissions authorized by López and the Junta were those issued in writing on blank forms the day before landing, and it was not until they were in international waters that he was appointed Adjutant General. Gonzales emphasized that "Americans had the right to emigrate with or without arms." He admitted choosing the island of Mugerres as the rendezvous because it was outside of American jurisdiction and that while there under the American flag, they could not be seized by Spanish warships, because the papers of the vessels were in order from New Orleans to Chagres. Henderson and others had consented to this scheme, as it did not violate U.S. law. Cuban flags were provided for the vessels and for each regiment, and only unfurled after leaving the United States. The articles for the expedition were acquired through the sale of Cuban bonds, sold at ten cent on the dollar, which netted forty to fifty thousand dollars. Henderson did not participate in the expedition, which was led by López. Gonzales tried to arouse juror sympathy by stating that he and all the Junta members were under sentence of death by the Spanish government since the expedition.⁹¹

Gonzales concluded his testimony for the defense after being on the stand for almost three hours. The judge called a recess until five o'clock, when a rigorous cross-examination began. The shrewd Benjamin, later known as the "Brains of the Confederacy," proved a formidable opponent. Gonzales utilized his law training to withstand a "very minute and strict" interrogation and points "were frequently raised and debated with great warmth by the prosecution and the accused." Trying to discredit the Cuban as a witness, the prosecutor focused on his colossal admission of knowing more than anyone else all of the details of the expedition. When pressed by Benjamin for the particulars of the origin of the ammunition and the weapons, Gonzales testified that he could not recall or was not certain. He even went as far as saying that he was uncertain if his name appeared on the Cuban bonds, many of which had his signature along with that of López and others. The witness acknowledged that Cuban bonds worth \$100,000 to \$150,000 were sold in New Orleans, at ten cents on the dollar, and that about \$40,000 to \$50,000 was raised by Henderson.⁹²

On the redirect examination by Henderson, Gonzales claimed that the accused probably knew nothing of the weapons or how they were procured. He suddenly recollected, after Henderson refreshed his memory, that a limited number of the bonds were issued and signed in Jackson, Mississippi, and given to the defendant to sell. After answering a few more question regarding the *Georgianna* and the *Susan Loud*, he stated that all who chose to return on those vessels had been free to do so, and that several did.⁹³

Co-defendant Laurent Sigur was called as the second defense witness. He admitted participating in various conferences regarding the expedition, and that he and John O'Sullivan considered ridiculous the extraordinary precautions taken by Henderson not to violate the

Neutrality Law, which they deemed unconstitutional. "I would have no hesitation to violate the law myself, as it is a bad law, for it goes farther than the laws of nations require, and beyond those laws I have no respect for it," affirmed Sigur.⁹⁴

Henderson then offered in evidence the correspondence exchanged between Hunton and Secretary of State Clayton the previous year regarding the expedition. The Clayton letter of 22 January 1850 to Hunton showed that the prosecution was a result of orders from President Taylor, responding to complaints from Spanish Minister Calderón. Henderson read to the jury Hunton's response four months later, assuring that "the leaders of the enterprise have had good *legal advisers* and have not rendered themselves amenable to our laws."⁹⁵ This prompted an outburst of great laughter in the courtroom. The embarrassed District Attorney then presented another letter he had sent to Clayton expressing a different opinion. The defense rested its case at eight thirty that evening and the court adjourned.⁹⁶

Two days after Gonzales testified, Mirabeau Lamar arrived at the St. Charles Hotel.⁹⁷ He provided Gonzales with letters of recommendation for Georgia Governor George W. Towns, officers of the state militia, and other masonic contacts. Gonzales soon departed for Georgia to organize the next expedition, without regard for the trial's conclusion.

The Henderson case ended at one p.m. on Monday, 20 January, after the U.S. District Attorney presented his closing statement. The jury began deliberations and by five o'clock claimed they were deadlocked from the start: eight for conviction and four for acquittal. While Henderson did not object to the jury going home for the evening, Hunton tried to force the issue by sequestering the jurors, who had to sleep in the courtroom in makeshift accommodations.⁹⁸ The jury was called before Judge McCaleb at two o'clock the following afternoon and they

reported no prospect for agreement. Most of the northerners on the panel returned a guilty verdict. Jurors Carter, May, McLean and foreman Parsons held out for acquittal. With the consent of counsel, the jury was dismissed and a mistrial declared.⁹⁹

The trial was a mere inconvenience to Gonzales, López and other conspirators intent on liberating Cuba. Ever since their return from Cárdenas, they had directed their energies toward organizing another expedition, especially in New York and Savannah. Gonzales and his Junta companions were all now under sentence of death, and that apparently gave them greater motivation. López was acting more precipitous than ever, and this carelessness seems to have alienated Quitman, who did not respond to assistance requests to launch another invasion before the trial began. The jury appears to have deadlocked due to their sectional sympathies. Charges were still pending against Gonzales, but as far as he was concerned, if his cause triumphed first, the case would be moot.

NOTES

1. U.S. Senate, Ex. Doc. 57, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 46.
2. "Lopez and his Arrest--Scenes in Savannah," *New York Tribune*, 31 May 1850, 8; "The Arrest and Discharge of Gen. Lopez," *The Evening Picayune*, 1 June 1850, 1; and Thomas Gamble, "Trial of Lopez in Federal Court at Savannah Proved Triumph for the Cuban Patriot," *Savannah Morning News*, 10 March 1935.
3. Attorney Robert M. Charlton was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1852 and died two years later. William J. Northen, Ed., *Men of Mark in Georgia* Vol. II (Spartanburg, S.C.: The Reprint Company, 1974), 295-297; *Memoirs of Georgia* Vol. 1 (Atlanta, Ga.: The Southern Historical Association, 1895), 247; and Allen D. Candler and Clement A. Evans, Eds., *Georgia*, Vol. 1 (Atlanta, Ga.: State Historical Association, 1906), 348-349.
4. "The Arrest and Discharge of Gen. Lopez," 1. López's desire to become an American citizen is omitted from his three-volume biography by Portell Vilá.
5. *Ibid.*; "Lopez and his Arrest--Scenes in Savannah," *New York Tribune*, 31 May 1850, 8; and "The Arrest and Discharge of Gen. Lopez," *The Evening Picayune*, 1 June 1850, 1.
6. U.S. Senate, Ex. Doc. 57, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 46-47.
7. "The Cuban Marauders--Further Particulars," *New York Tribune*, 10 June 1850, 6.
8. *Picayune*, 2 June 1850, 2.
9. *Ibid.*, 5 June 1850, 2.
10. "The Cuban Expedition," *New York Tribune*, 28 May 1850, 1.
11. *Ibid.*, 8.
12. "The Cuban Invasion," *Burlington Hawk-Eye* (Iowa), 30 May 1850, 2.
13. *New York Tribune*, 28 November 1848, 1.
14. "Theatricals at the North," *Picayune*, 6 June 1850, 2.
15. "Examination of Gen. Narciso Lopez," *Picayune*, 8 June 1850, 1.
16. *The Cyclopedia of American Biography*, Vol. 3.
17. Dufour, *Gentle Tiger*, 53.
18. "Official Reports of the Expedition to Cuba," *Evening Picayune*, 28 June 1850, 1.
19. Gonzales, "On to Cuba;" Durkin, *Confederate Navy Chief*, 34; and "Autobiography of William Marvin," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, January 1958, 201.

20. *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of the Most Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons of the State of Florida, 1846* (Tallahassee: Office of the Floridian, 1846), 54; and *Proceedings of the M. W. Grand Lodge of the State of Florida, 1849* (Tallahassee: Office of the Floridian & Journal, 1849), vi.
21. *Evening Picayune*, 28 June 1850, 1; and "Arrival of the Cuban Invaders in Custody," *New York Tribune*, 25 June 1850, 4.
22. Charles Adams Gulick, Jr., Winnie Allen, Katherine Elliott and Harriet Smither, eds. *The Papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar*, Vol. VI (Austin: the Pemberton Press, 1968), 311.
23. William Henry Rosier and Fred Lamar Pearson, Jr., *The Grand Lodge of Georgia: Free and Accepted Masons* (Macon, Georgia: The Masonic Home Print Shop, 1983), 216.
24. *Ibid.*, foreword; Lucian Lamar Knight, *A Standard History of Georgia and Georgians*, Vol. III (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1917), 1340-1342; David C. Roller and Robert W. Twyman, Eds., *The Encyclopedia of Southern History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 705; and Asa Kyrus Christian, *Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar* (Austin, Texas: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., Publishers, 1922), 194-197. The latter work omits mention of Lamar's link to the Cuban filibusters.
25. Denslow, *10,000 Famous Freemasons*, III, 49.
26. Record Group 21, U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Louisiana, New Orleans Circuit Court, General Case Files (E 121), cases 1965-1970, National Archives; and *The Evening Picayune*, 21 June 1850, 1.
27. Portell Vila, *Narciso Lopez*, II, 435.
28. Claiborne, *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman*, II, 59-60; and Morales, *Iniciadores y primeros mártires*, II, 121.
29. John L. O'Sullivan to John A. Quitman, Vicksburg, 26 June 1850, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
30. *Ibid.*
31. John Henderson to John A. Quitman, 2 July 1850, *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Savannah Morning News*, 22 July 1850, 2.
34. *New York Tribune*, 27 July 1850, 4; *Picayune*, 30 July 1850, 2.
35. Gonzales, *Manifesto on Cuban Affairs*, 9.
36. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 436.
37. "Passengers," *Savannah Morning News*, 9 September 1850, 2; and *Picayune*, 15 September 1850, 2.
38. To become a Master Mason, a candidate first had to study and pass the initial degrees of apprentice and craftsman, which took months. The "at sight" ceremony was a special dispensation which quickened the process. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, III, 779 n. 508; _____, "Narciso Lopez y la masoneria," *Accion Masonica: Organo Oficial de la Federacion de Masesones Cubanos Desterrados (Cuba Primero)* (West New York, N.J.), January 1979,

8; and *Proceedings of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Georgia, at its Annual Communication for the Year 5850* (Macon, Ga.: S. Rose & Co., Printers, 1851), 41-42.

39. John Lama affidavit, William Coolidge Papers, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah; John Lama, Hartridge Collection, *Ibid.*; "List of Letters Remaining in the Post Office Savannah," *The Georgian* (Savannah), 2 September 1842, 3; and *Proceedings of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Georgia, at its Annual Convention, for the Year 5849* (Macon, Ga.: S. Rose & Co., 1849), 63. Lama has been erroneously identified as a Cuban emigre in Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 59, 410.

40. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, I, 77.

41. Dufour, *Gentle Tiger*, 55.

42. Perez, "Lopez's Expeditions to Cuba, 1850-51," 346-347.

43. L. J. Sigur to John A. Quitman, 7 November 1850, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.

44. Henderson to Quitman, 6 November 1850, cited in Claiborne, *Life and Correspondence*, II, 70-71.

45. L. J. Sigur to John A. Quitman, 7 November 1850, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.

46. May, *Quitman*, 246-248.

47. Claiborne, *Life and correspondence of John A. Quitman*, II, 380.

48. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 125.

49. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Evening Picayune*, 17 December 1850, 2.

50. "Arrivals at the Principal Hotels," *Picayune*, 18 and 19 December 1850, 2.

51. *Ibid.*, 24 December 1850, 2.

52. "Letter from Havana," *Picayune*, 25 December 1850, 2.

53. 1850 Louisiana Census, Parish of Orleans, 363.

54. "U.S. Circuit Court," *The Evening Picayune*, 2 January 1851, 1; and "United States District Court," *The New Orleans Daily Bee*, 3 January 1851, 1.

55. Pierce Butler, *Judah P. Benjamin* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Company, 1906), 179-182; and Eli N. Evans, *Judah P. Benjamin: The Jewish Confederate* (New York: The Free Press, 1988), 41-43.

56. "U.S. Circuit Court," *The Daily Picayune*, 3 January 1851, 2; and "Circuit Court of the United States," *The Daily Delta*, 3 January 1851, 2.

57. *New Orleans Directory*, 1851, 64.

58. 1850 Louisiana Free Census, Third District in Orleans Parish, 138; and *New Orleans Directory*, 1851, 23.

59. 1850 Louisiana Free Census, Third District in Orleans Parish, 149; and *New Orleans Directory*, 1851, 144.

60. 1850 Louisiana Free Census, Third District in Orleans Parish, 145; and *New Orleans Directory*, 1851, 182.
61. Potential jurors rejected for being predisposed about the filibuster case were: coffee and gunny bags retailer George C. Taylor, dry goods dealer C. M. Simpson, oil store owner D. P. Sampson, boots and shoes retailer J. H. Felt, commission merchants W. F. Vredenburg and T. B. Winston, broker E. H. Dix, retailer H. H. Hansell, Charles Diamond, and W. W. Cook. See *New Orleans Directory*, 1851, regarding their occupations.
62. 1850 Louisiana Free Census, Third District Orleans Parish, 374.
63. New Orleans, Record of Corporation Licenses, 1847-1852, 8 February 1848, Duke University; and *New Orleans Directory*, 1851, 113.
64. *New Orleans Directory*, 1851, 41.
65. *Ibid.*; "U.S. Circuit Court," *Evening Picayune*, 3 January 1851, 1; "Circuit Court of the United States," *Delta*, 4 January 1851, 2; and "U.S. Circuit Court," *Picayune*, 4 January 1851, 2.
66. 1850 Louisiana Free Census, Third District in Orleans Parish, 147; and *New Orleans Directory*, 1851, 31.
67. New Orleans, Record of Corporation Licenses, 1847-1852, 2 March 1848, Duke University; *New Orleans Directory*, 1851, 122.
68. 1860 Louisiana Free Census, First Ward of New Orleans, 172; and *New Orleans Directory*, 1851, 130.
69. 1850 Louisiana Census, Third District in Orleans Parish, 144; *New Orleans Directory*, 1851, 194.
70. 1850 Louisiana Free Census, 2nd Municipality of New Orleans, 29; Record of Corporation Licenses, 1847-52, 19 January 1848, Duke University; and *New Orleans Directory*, 1851, 81.
71. 1850 Louisiana Free Census, 2nd Municipality of New Orleans, 29; *New Orleans Directory*, 1851, 129.
72. New Orleans, Record of Corporation Licenses, 1847-1852, 12 February 1849, Duke University; and *New Orleans Directory*, 1851, 149.
73. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Picayune*, 5 January 1851, 2; and "U.S. Circuit Court," *Evening Picayune*, 6 January 1851, 1 and 3.
74. "Circuit Court of the United States," *Delta*, 7 January 1851, 2.
75. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Picayune*, 7 January 1851, 2; and "United States Circuit Court," *Delta*, 11 January 1851, 2.
76. "Circuit Court of the United States," *Delta*, 7 January 1851, 2; and "U.S. Circuit Court," *Evening Picayune*, 6 January 1851, 1.
77. "Circuit Court of the United States," *Delta*, 7 January 1851, 2; and "U.S. Circuit Court," *Bee*, 7 January 1851, 1.
78. "Circuit Court of the United States," *Delta*, 7 January 1851, 2.
79. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Bee*, 8 January 1851, 1.

80. "United States Circuit Court," *Delta*, 8 January 1851, 2; "U.S. Circuit Court," *Picayune*, 8 January 1851, 2.
81. N. Lopez to Macías, 7 January 1851, Narciso Lopez, Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection, LC. Since Portell Vilá conducted a meticulous manuscript research at the Library of Congress he apparently omitted this important letter from his nationalist biography of López. This document clearly shows that López had no confidence in Cubans to liberate their homeland.
82. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, III, 90.
83. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Evening Picayune*, 9 January 1851, 1; "United States Circuit Court," *Delta*, 10 January 1851, 2.
84. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Bee*, 10 January 1851, 1.
85. "United States Circuit Court," *Delta*, 11 January 1851, 2.
86. *Ibid.*, and "U.S. Circuit Court," *Picayune*, 11 January 1851, 2.
87. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Evening Picayune*, 11 January 1851, 1.
88. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Crescent*, 13 January 1851, 2.
89. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Picayune*, 12 January 1851, 2; "U.S. Circuit Court," *Crescent*, 13 January 1851, 2; and "United States Circuit Court," *Delta*, 14 January 1851, 2.
90. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Crescent*, 13 January 1851, 2.
91. *Ibid.*
92. "U.S. Circuits Court," *Picayune*, 12 January 1851, 2.
93. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Crescent*, 13 January 1851, 2.
94. *Ibid.*; "U.S. Circuit Court," *Picayune*, 12 January 1851, 2; and "United States Circuit Court," *Delta*, 14 January 1851, 2.
95. "Correspondence," *Delta*, 12 January 1851, 3.
96. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Picayune*, 12 January 1851, 2.
97. "Arrivals at the Principal Hotels," *Evening Picayune*, 14 January 1851, 2.
98. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Picayune*, 21 January 1851, 2; "United States Circuit Court," *Delta*, 22 January 1851, 1; "U.S. Circuit Court," *Bee*, 22 January 1851, 1.
99. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Picayune*, 22 January 1851, 2.

CHAPTER VI

THE FEDERAL FUGITIVE

The day after the mistrial was declared, U.S. District Attorney Logan Hunton requested another trial, which was set for Monday, 27 January 1851.¹ The judicial process did not diminish the renewed clandestine preparations of the Cuban revolutionaries, or the espionage activities of the Spanish diplomats. Francisco Stoughton, the Spanish Consul in New York, was informing Minister Calderón on the 27th that Teurbe Tolón had arrived in the city two days earlier from Charleston. His mission was to round up recruits for a new expedition scheduled to sail from New Orleans in February. Stoughton stated that Teurbe Tolón was returning to South Carolina that day and would proceed immediately to New Orleans.² Calderón immediately notified his Consul in Charleston, Vicente A. de Larrañaga to be on the lookout for Teurbe Tolón and asked him to forward a secret report enclosed to the Cuban Captain General. Calderón indicated that the United States District Attorney in Charleston would soon be receiving orders from the State Department against the plotters, including Teurbe Tolón, and that it seemed that "the conspirators are headed to New Orleans."³ Larrañaga responded a few days later that he had been unable to locate Teurbe Tolón, who was probably hiding, but assured that he would "put all means within my reach to cooperate in the persecution of the conspirators."⁴

Also arriving in the Crescent City in January was Hungarian revolutionary Louis Schlesinger, who had fought as an officer under Louis Kossuth, and offered his services to the Cuban cause. López wanted to take in the next expedition "a good body of experience military men, accustomed to discipline and subordination, and he believed that a few hundreds of the refugee Hungarians and Poles would be a valuable element in his intended operations. They

would also tend to relieve his expedition from the character of being an American annexation scheme."⁵ Two main problems of the Cárdenas invasion had been the disorganization and disobedience of inexperienced volunteers, and that the mostly English-speaking filibusters characterized the movement as an American annexationist endeavor. Schlesinger was sent to New York in early February to recruit among European military veterans.

In New Orleans, problems in assembling a second jury were soon evident on the first day of the trial. In the first venire of forty-eight men, nineteen did not appear, twenty-three were dismissed for being predisposed, three were disqualified, and three were sworn as jurors.⁶ Another panel of forty-eight was exhausted the next day, with only two more jurors chosen. A new venire of ninety-six was drawn, which yielded only two jurors. The panel was completed on 31 January with A. L. Abatt, a twenty-nine-year-old Vermont clerk with a Mississippi teenage wife and a baby son, who shared a home with two other married New England clerks;⁷ Emile Bouny, a twenty-two-year-old Louisianan baker, living in the Condé Street confectionery of his wealthy widowed mother from the French West Indies;⁸ John Ducournau, a merchant tailor; R. W. Sanders; Benjamin F. Fox, a fifty-six-year-old British builder with a \$30,000 estate, residing in Louisiana with his wife and daughter for more than twenty years;⁹ E. H. Nichols; builder Francis D. Gott; Charles P. Knight, a forty-year-old Maine sailmaker living with his northerner wife in a house on the right river bank with three other New England maritime families;¹⁰ merchant Thomas Hall; ship broker and commission merchant A. Weatherby; businessman M. J. Zunts; and commission merchant Nathan Harned, as foreman.¹¹ The prosecution again tried to put as many northerners and foreigners as possible on the jury, but this time there were fewer available than in the first trial.

When the panel was completed at four thirty on the afternoon of Thursday, 30 January, Henderson presented two sworn affidavits to impeach juror Gott, who during jury selection claimed to have formed and expressed no opinion regarding the case. David Orcutt and Thomas Bowman swore on the documents that they had spoken with Gott the previous Monday, who expressed condemnation of everyone engaged in the Cuban affair and "would even hang them if it was left to him." The judge gave credence to the affidavits and dismissed Gott, who was replaced with a new juror, a Mr. Pearce.¹² Orcutt was a cabinet maker who six months later was a member of a committee collecting filibuster funds and participated in rallies on behalf of the last López expedition.

District Attorney Hunton gave his opening remarks on the morning of the 31st, and then Henderson presented the defense statement. The first witness, Captain Moore, gave the same testimony as during the previous trial, implicating himself and others in the Cuban expedition. The prosecution jumped at the chance to accuse Henderson of being responsible for the "murder, arson and rapine" committed at Cárdenas. The defendant angrily objected that he was not on trial for those offenses and that "the charge is most monstrous and atrocious." A heated argument ensued between Hunton and Henderson, who had to be called to order by the judge. Henderson argued that "no evidence could be admitted to show that the acts of others were to be traced to his instigation."¹³ The court ruled that the statement of a conspirator was evidence against the others, and the examination continued until the court adjourned for the evening.

The prosecution wrapped up its testimony the following day. Defense witnesses appeared on the morning of 3 February, but their testimony was not reported in the newspapers. The *Bee* tersely stated in one sentence that "no interest whatever is attached to the proceedings."¹⁴ The

case was then postponed until Friday, the 7th, due to the illness of a juror.¹⁵ When it resumed at ten o'clock in the morning, Special Prosecutor Judah Benjamin was in the middle of the Government's argument when General John Quitman entered the courtroom, accompanied by the arresting officer, U.S. Marshal Fielding Davis, and his attorney John T. McMurren, a former law partner in Natchez. McCaleb interrupted Benjamin to allow Quitman to enter a plea. After waiving the reading of the indictment, Quitman pled not guilty and demanded a speedy trial, as he had resigned the last year he had left as Mississippi governor to answer the federal court summons. The court ordered a recognizance bond of \$1,000, which was given with Henry W. Hill as surety. Special Prosecutor Benjamin then continued his final argument until the adjournment hour.¹⁶

On Saturday morning, 8 February, Henderson began his closing statement to the jury at eleven o'clock and concluded three-and-a-half hours later, making a "cogent and powerful argument upon the law of the case," and the court recessed until Monday.¹⁷ District Attorney Hunton gave a three-hour closing argument on the 10th, and the jury was then instructed at two p.m. When they failed to reach a verdict by six o'clock, they were locked up for the night.¹⁸ The evening edition of the *Picayune* predicted that there was not "the slightest probability" of a conviction.¹⁹

The next day, the panel asked the court to clarify two points: what constituted a military organization, and whether they could find verdicts on each of the separate counts, or did they have to decide on all the counts as a whole. The court indicated that to constitute a *military organization* "it was sufficient that men be engaged in the United States for the purpose of carrying on a military expedition, and not necessary that they should be officered and soldiered

within this jurisdiction," and told the jurors they could decide on each count individually.²⁰ The panel continued to deliberate until seven o'clock in the evening, when foreman Harned informed the court that "it was impossible for them to agree," being equally divided on the verdict. The jury was then discharged when counsel did not object.²¹ The deadlock of six to six was an improvement for the defense over the previous stalemate of eight to four for conviction. The larger number of Southern jurors in this case seemed to make a favorable difference.

The third trial of Henderson began on 15 February. All forty-eight citizens in the first venire admitted they had already made a decision, one way or another. The *Delta* referred to the empaneling of the jury as a "profitless and amusing task."²² The next day, a venire of ninety-six contained many absentees, others lacked citizenship, and the rest, except two, were discharged for being biased.²³ Hunton then asked for a continuance, because out of 760 people summoned for jury duty, only twenty-four had appeared. He told the court that he had petitioned the Louisiana congressional delegation to enact a federal law allowing jurors to be chosen from the district, instead of the parish, to expand the selection. If the trial was postponed until the next congressional term, Hunton believed the new law would be approved. Henderson objected and demanded the trial should proceed. Quitman backed the defendant by waiving his right to a speedy trial, so that the Henderson case would take precedence. Judge McCaleb ruled on behalf of the defense and ordered the Marshall to draw a new pool of two hundred jurors.²⁴

Encouraged by the favorable turn of events, the filibusters increased the tempo of their covert activities. Villaverde noted in his diary on 20 February that Gonzales wrote from Georgia that Governor Towns had given him two cannons, four hundred muskets, pistols and sabers.²⁵ Gonzales established a network of collaborators in Savannah, which included thirty-four-year-old

bar keeper Alonzo B. Luce, a member of Zerubbabel Lodge, No. 15 in Savannah,²⁶ and thirty-six-year-old Cuban cigar maker Thomas M. Rosis.²⁷ Rosis received from Gonzales a package with one hundred and fifty photographs of General López, to send to Macías in Charleston, so that it could be smuggled to Havana by Miguel Porto, the purser of the steamer *Isabel*.²⁸ López, meanwhile, had asked former Madán Council members Gaspar Betancourt Cisneros and Pedro de Agüero to meet him in New Orleans.²⁹ Betancourt checked into the St. Louis Hotel on 25 February.³⁰

A jury was finally empaneled on 1 March, after the eleventh venire, having pooled 528 people.³¹ It consisted of Thomas Long, a thirty-five-year-old Irish gunny bags dealer and trader, who lived in the area for more than five years with his wife and three children;³² François Erries, a gunsmith;³³ Theodule Chalon, a wood, sand and brick dealer;³⁴ J. J. Fitzpatrick, a thirty-one-year-old Irish bachelor grocer,³⁵ who months later attended Cuba rallies and became a member of the Cuban Collecting Committee for the last López expedition;³⁶ William Murphy, a forty-two-year-old Irish carpenter who migrated to New York more than a decade earlier, had been in New Orleans with his wife and four children less than two years, and lived in a boarding house two blocks from the home of *Creole* captain Armstrong Lewis;³⁷ T. R. Hyde, a wealthy fifty-four-year-old Connecticut grocer who had resided in Louisiana with his family for more than half of his life;³⁸ Thomas T. Twitty, a tobacco and commission merchant; clerk Roslin C. Vass; William L. Ford, a thirty-five-year-old Mississippi carpenter residing in the same Irish boarding house as J. D. R. McHenry, the commissary of the Louisiana Regiment during the Cárdenas expedition;³⁹ M. R. Holliday, a thirty-two-year-old bachelor New York merchant living in the home of a Pennsylvania druggist, on the same block as Ford and McHenry;⁴⁰ John Gamann; and

Henry Hyams, a sixty-two-year-old British-born merchant, who spent more than half of his life in South Carolina, where he married and raised eight children, before moving to New Orleans the previous year.⁴¹ Hyams was also the uncle of Special Prosecutor Benjamin.⁴²

District Attorney Hunton opened the case on 3 March by reading the indictment and presenting his opening statement to the jury. Henderson was so confident, that in contrast to his lengthy presentation during the first trial, he did not reply, and the prosecution began calling their witnesses.⁴³ The next day, all the courts in New Orleans adjourned for the start of Mardi Gras and the Firemen's celebration.⁴⁴

The trial resumed on 4 March, and the prosecution presented all their witnesses by two-thirty p.m. It was a rehash of the evidence given in the previous trials, excepting the government exhibit of the López proclamation entitled "Soldiers of the Liberating Expedition of Cuba!," distributed before the Cárdenas landing. Henderson then presented only two defence witnesses who gave brief testimony. Larent Sigur stated that General Henderson had taken all precautions not to violate the neutrality law and that military commissions were issued at sea. General Quitman then took the stand to describe what constituted a military expedition, such as the one he led during the Mexican War. He said there had to be an organization, a contract between the parties assigning commands, and an obligation from others to obey, none of which had been effected by López in the United States.⁴⁵ Special prosecutor Benjamin then gave the government's closing statement and the court adjourned at four p.m. The *Bee* covered the last two days of the trial in only one paragraph, stressing that its particulars "have of course long since ceased to be of any interest."⁴⁶

When the trial resumed at ten o'clock on 6 March, Henderson summarized his defence

in a few hours. Hunton presented his final declaration in the afternoon, and the jury retired after court instructions. When the judge sent the Marshal at six o'clock to inquire on the verdict, they replied that "there was not the slightest possibility," and were left sequestered until the next day.⁴⁷ A third mistrial was declared the next day in the case against Henderson, when the jury deadlocked eleven-to-one for acquittal. The intransigent juror was probably Henry Hyams, the special prosecutor's uncle. The District Attorney announced that more than one thousand names had been drawn to empanel the three juries, and that the law limited his venire to the parish residents. He stated that he had done his duty and that stronger proof could not be elicited against the defendants. To try the case again would result in another mistrial and therefore, with the court's consent, he was abandoning the prosecution. Special Prosecutor Benjamin concurred with his colleague.⁴⁸ Hunton then filed a *nolle prosequi*, dismissing all charges against Henderson, Gonzales, and all co-defendants. Hunton immediately wrote to Secretary Webster of the results, blaming "the present law of Congress restricting the Marshal of this District to the Parish of Orleans in Summoning Jurors...."⁴⁹ Webster sent a copy of the document, along with his own apologetic letter to Minister Calderón, greatly regretting the outcome of the Henderson case, and adding that the Government had "incurred large expenses" to prosecute those who had violated the Neutrality Law.⁵⁰

The day the trial ended, Cuban conspirator Pedro de Agüero, who had bought the Round Island steamer *Fanny*, arrived from New York with his wife and registered at the St. Louis Hotel.⁵¹ He soon met with López and Betancourt, all of whom, for unknown reasons, did not attend the complimentary dinner given to Quitman by more than one hundred people at the St. Louis Hotel on 12 March.⁵² Eight days later, López exploded in bittersweet rage when shown

the *Picayune* announcement that the steamship *Georgia* had sailed from New York on the tenth, taking Cristobal Madán with his wife and child back to Havana.⁵³ On the same voyage was a group of American politicians, including Senator Henry Clay, who had an interview with the Captain General of Cuba José de la Concha.⁵⁴

The agreement Madán made with the Spanish authorities to allow his return to Cuba is open to speculation. He probably gave Minister Calderón a full account of his revolutionary activities and implicated others. During this time, the Spanish authorities found out that Matanzas-born Carlos Collins had been acting as courier for López. When he arrived in Havana from New Orleans in late February or early March, he was shadowed by the police to determine his contacts. A cryptic letter from López that Collins was carrying caused him to be accused of "Political crime" on 12 March 1851.⁵⁵ Collins confessed that the letter, dated 12 February, was for Venezuelan Consul Manuel Muñoz Castro, the nephew of General López, who was one of the chief conspirators in Havana. The accused stated that when he left New Orleans, López had provided a package with his photographs and revolutionary proclamations, but that he had thrown it overboard before disembarking. Collins deciphered the letter, in which López was asking that a conspirator named Fleury provide "the best and most patriotic" coastal pilots to lead the next expedition, to not run aground like in Cárdenas. He also wanted railroad foreman Juan Escarrás "to send a Battalion" and asked that the contents of the package be distributed among sympathetic Spanish troops. The government ordered Consul Muñoz to leave the country within eight days and arrested Escarrás, the Fleury brothers, navigator Claudio Andrés, attorney Santiago Bombalier and army Captain Nicolás Canalejo.⁵⁶ The mail pouch that arrived in Havana on 31 March on a New Orleans steamer, contained letters from López addressed to his nephew, which were

confiscated by the government as further proof of the conspiracy.⁵⁷

In spite of this heavy setback, Gonzales was making good progress in Georgia, where on 14 March he had located General Mirabeau Lamar in Macon. The fifty-two-year-old Lamar had just wed six weeks earlier in New Orleans the youthful Henrietta M. Maffit,⁵⁸ daughter of a southern Methodist revivalist, after a two-week courtship, and was on an extended honeymoon tour of the South. Gonzales informed Lamar that thanks to his letters of introduction, Governor George Washington Towns had been "very friendly & *liberal*" toward him.⁵⁹ The fifty-year-old Towns was the son of a Revolutionary War veteran and a Macon attorney who had served as a Colonel in the state militia. Elected to both branches of the state legislature as a Democrat, he opposed nullification in 1832 and was later elected to Congress in Washington on three different occasions. By the time Towns became governor 1847, he was a staunch "fire eater" opposed to the Wilmot Proviso and the growth of abolitionism.⁶⁰

The gubernatorial influence allowed Gonzales to sell many Cuban Bonds and to acquire ten pieces of brass artillery. Several state militia cavalry and infantry companies promised to provide their armaments, and he "made arrangements to collect one thousand men and from 200 to 300 horses." A number of prominent Georgians throughout the state provided support. In Columbus, militia captain John Forsyth, a thirty-seven-year-old Columbus editor, was involved "to a very great extent" in the secret operations, and Captain E. C. Davis, a twenty-seven-year-old merchant, unloaded Cuban Bonds.⁶¹ In Macon, Gonzales had the collaboration of Robert A. Smith, Sidney Lanier, uncle of the renowned poet with the same name, and Captain Isaac Scott, a wealthy forty-year-old merchant,⁶² who was a State Department informant. The last two had returned in March from a trip to Havana, with messages of the "perfect unanimity of the Cubans"

against Spain and of "the acknowledged fact that one half of the troops" on the island would join the revolutionaries. In coastal McIntosh County, supporters of the Cuban cause included twenty-eight-year-old planter Randolph Spalding, who had just inherited from his father, former Senator Thomas Spalding, the extensive Sapelo Island plantation, with its large colonial residence and many slaves.⁶³

Gonzales told Lamar that a steamer had already been procured that could carry up to seven hundred men and two hundred horses, and that he was "using every effort" to raise \$10,000 to send to López to complete the purchase of another steamer, capable of running sixteen-miles-an-hour with the remainder of the expedition. The second vessel would allow passage for the 1,800 recruits in the Southwest ready to follow Mississippi Colonel Robert L. Downman and Colonel W. S. Clendennin. To achieve this final goal, Gonzales needed from Lamar "very especially your moral influence" with friends in Macon and Columbus, and with his cousin Charles Augustus Lafayette Lamar in Savannah. He concluded by saying the Cuban people would be grateful to him for his help in "this preceders in annexation."⁶⁴

The first public mention of the new annexation plans appeared in the *Cincinnati Chronicle and Atlas* on 25 March. It said that Captain H. H. Robinson, one of the "leading spirits" of the first invasion, had departed their city for New Orleans, with a number of "military bloods," claiming they were going to Yucatán, but it was generally believed "that they were going to join another Cuban expedition, forming in the South."⁶⁵ Six days later, the Havana correspondent of the *New York Express* reported that the Captain General of Cuba told Commodore Parker, of the steamer *Saranac*, that according to information received in mid-March, López would land in Cuba before the end of April with up to 2,500 "pirates."⁶⁶ One of the informants was Doctor

Daniel Henry Burnett, who had infiltrated the filibuster group in New Orleans the previous October. The spy was described as "a young man about 26 or 28 years of age, tall in stature, long features, wearing his whiskers full, and rather animated in appearance."⁶⁷

Since most of these conspiratorial activities were carried out in secrecy, we can only speculate as to the role of some participants. Durant Da Ponte, the twenty-one-year-old Assistant Editor of the *Picayune*, who a few months later surfaced as an active organizer and fund raiser of the Cuban cause, departed for his native New York on the steamship *Union* on 1 April.⁶⁸ He stayed there for about a month, returning on the *Ohio* immediately after the plot was foiled in that city.⁶⁹ Da Ponte also seemed to have Cuban relatives that provided an emotional tie to the cause.⁷⁰

Expedition preparations were most successful in Georgia, where Gonzales had raised a squadron of four hundred men, more than 1,700 rifles and artillery, as part of a rendezvous with other forces that would descend on Cuba.⁷¹ He quickly learned to manipulate and dismantle the field cannons from an instruction book and the explanations of the Georgia state militia artillerists. He already possessed the mathematical knowledge needed to accurately target the guns. López wrote to Gonzales on 3 April asking how many men and weapons he had available and telling him to be ready to sail on the 16th. Before receiving this message, Gonzales telegraphed Laurent Sigur in New Orleans two days later, using the alias A. Hermany (combining Ambrosio with his other code name Germán), saying that the suggestions he made a week earlier through Mr. Dixon should be implemented. He had already sent \$10,000 to O'Sullivan in New York and would send the rest in a week.⁷²

The New York branch of the operations was being penetrated by informant Burnett. He

was introduced on 8 April to Captain Frederick Freeman, who claimed to have lost his estate in Trinidad, Cuba, two years earlier to a Philadelphian named Baker. Freeman believed that by helping the revolutionaries, he would regain his property when they triumphed. Five days later, Freeman introduced Burtnett to José Sánchez Iznaga and John O'Sullivan, "the latter being the leading spirit at the North," who immediately took him into their confidence and "talked freely" of their plans and past endeavors.⁷³ The gullible conspirators informed the spy that they were going to purchase the *Cleopatra* steamer the next day and asked him to acquire another steamer within three days, for which he would be reimbursed. Burtnett chartered a schooner the next day, and met that evening at the home of Sánchez Iznaga with O'Sullivan, *Creole* captain Armstrong Lewis, *Cleopatra* captain Phineas O. Wilson, Hungarian revolutionary Louis Schlessinger, William T. Rogers, O'Sullivan's business agent and cousin to his wife, and a Mr. Pittfield, agent of the filibusters in the South and courier between them and O'Sullivan. The informant learned that 400 expeditionaries awaited in New York and that the plotters had contacts at the telegraph stations who would inform them of any Government communications to foil their plans. Burtnett then went to see the Spanish consul in New York, Francisco Stoughton, who agreed to buy his services as an informant.⁷⁴ The Spanish authorities soon had the details of the expedition:

They intended to employ several steamers and start from a point in Florida and effect a simultaneous landing at various points along the north of the island--at the same time by keeping up a false alarm on the south side, to distract the attention of the Spanish Government to that side. They proposed to land at plantations on the coast where they had friends and by attacking some 8 or 10 points at the same time--so to distract and divide the forces of the Capt. General as to allow them (the invaders) to collect and concentrate their native forces of which they stated there were about 14,000 already enrolled and under recognized leaders.⁷⁵

Burtnett was shown a letter sent from Havana to Gonzales, warning that conspirators were being arrested in the island as a result of informants, and begging not to delay further. Through

O'Sullivan, the spy learned that three cannons and seventy-one cases of rifles, containing two dozen each, were shipped by O'Sullivan to Gonzales in Savannah.⁷⁶

Meanwhile, the Georgia papers were reporting on 11 April that 120 "enterprising" young men from Cherokee County and several from Atlanta had left that city on the Macon and Western Railroad on the 8th, purportedly for California, but destined for Cuba. They added that, in relation to this, six boxes of rifles were shipped out of Atlanta the previous day on the Atlanta and West Point Railroad.⁷⁷ The company was destined for Savannah "to tender their services to Gen. Gonzales." Sixty-three from this group arrived on the 12th at the Central Railroad station twenty miles from Savannah. After learning that they had arrived prematurely at the wrong rendezvous, they returned home to await further instructions. The rest of the company received an order at Macon to turn back.⁷⁸ In Florida, the Tallahassee *Sentinel* informed a few days later that fifty-five filibusters had passed through their city on the 9th on their way to Savannah. Expedition preparations in east Florida were in charge of Henry Theodore Titus, who owned large property and sawmills there.⁷⁹ The thirty-six-year-old native of New Jersey, had lived in Philadelphia and Louisville, and had landed in Cárdenas with the Kentucky Regiment.⁸⁰

These activities prompted Henry L. Andrews in Macon to offer his services as an informant to Spanish Consul Larrañaga in Charleston, who suspected that it was a ploy "to get money with false news." Larrañaga notified a confidential source in Macon to make further inquiries and sent a copy of the Andrews letter to the Cuban Captain General by way of secret Spanish courier Clemente Gallo. This agent was also assigned to see if "some adventurers embark in Savannah destined for Key West."⁸¹

A confidential report sent from Charleston on 12 April to the British Minister in

Washington, Henry Lytton Bulwer, claimed that Gonzales was responsible for organizing the expedition in Georgia and Tennessee. The note stated that contingents of filibusters were headed for various points of embarkation on the coast and implicated Mirabeau Lamar.⁸² Another account sent to Bulwer the same day from Savannah, claimed that fifty expeditionaries had arrived the previous night at the rail station twenty miles outside the city, that a company from Tennessee was expected that night, and that "A considerable quantity of arms had been sent from the State Arsenal in this city to Atlanta, (supposed through the connivance of Governor Towns) which arms had been recently returned to this city and are now lying at the Railroad Depot." The letter included rumors that López was visiting Quitman and was expected in Savannah at any moment, and that Lamar "was to be the Commander in Chief of the expedition."⁸³ In reality, Lamar's fighting days were over and he seemed to have no desire to leave his new young bride. That same day, he wrote Gonzales from Macon, saying that the next time they personally met he would explain

the imperious circumstances which place it entirely out of my power to cooperate with you in your noble endeavors for the good and glory of your deeply injured and oppressed country, and this inability on my part you will please communicate to the incorruptible old vetran [sic] and patriot Genl. Lopez, for whom I entertain the highest friendship and esteem, and whose cause, being that of God & Liberty, I sincerely hope may be as triumphant as his heart can desire.⁸⁴

The spies of the Spanish and British Governments were apparently confusing Lamar with the conspiratorial activities of Savannah liquor dealer and militia Captain John Lama. General Lamar's acquaintance, Macon merchant Isaac Scott, was providing more accurate information to Secretary of State Daniel Webster. Scott wrote on 13 April that some forty expeditionaries, forming part of a company from the interior Georgia counties, had just passed through Macon that day and that their weapons were transported on another train, disguised as merchandise

crates, consigned to Captain John Lama in Savannah.⁸⁵

The armament sent to Lama was secretly forwarded south to the Woodbine Plantation in Camden County, Georgia, on the Satilla River. The property was part of the John Bailey estate, and after his demise it was administered by his eldest son, twenty-eight-year-old David Bailey, a major in the state militia. He was married to Isabella Lang, of the neighboring Cambray plantation, and they had two children.⁸⁶ Woodbine spread over nine hundred acres of swamp, hammock, tideland and pine forest. The two-story wooden mansion house, with a wide piazza and two chimneys, sat on a bluff one hundred and sixty feet from the river wharf. To its immediate right stood an exterior kitchen and a barn. To the rear left, bordering the property line, were eight dwellings for some one hundred slaves. A good stock of cattle, hogs and sheep fed the inhabitants. A canal to the right of the landing emptied into the rice banks. The crop was dried, threshed and then milled on the dock, from where it was shipped to market. Slightly further upstream on the Satilla was Walkers Creek, leading to a storage house behind the cultivated fields.⁸⁷ This was the logical place to store the large quantity of state militia weapons for the expedition.

Preparations were also in their final stages in Louisiana and Mississippi. Minister Calderón informed Secretary Webster on 14 April that, two weeks earlier, his New Orleans Consul had informed the District Attorney in that city that Quitman and Henderson were "collecting together idle people" in Pascagoula, Pass Christian, in the Bay of Saint Louis and Gainsville, Mississippi, for another Cuban invasion. In Arkansas, an attorney had established a "school of Military tactics," to train the expeditionaries. Calderón had heard from the Spanish Vice Consul in Savannah that "Antonio Gonzalez [*sic*], who is called the General, and who was

wounded in the route of Cardenas, is now engaged...in planning these infamous schemes in that City, and, from a telegraphic despatch which reached this Legation yesterday, Sunday, it appears that the aforesaid Gonzalez, and other persons, are busy in enticing, and have actually collected together, a number of people at a point twenty miles distant from the aforesaid port of Savannah." Calderón asked that the President adopt means to prevent this expedition.⁸⁸

Calderón then wrote to Consul Larrañaga in Charleston on the 18th, complimenting him for "not listening to Mr. Andrews who offered his services from Macon until knowing who he is. There are infinites of this kind and while those who make opportune services and important revelations will obtain generous reward, it is precise to close the door to those adventurers who await the occasion to swindle, as experience has shown me."⁸⁹ Three days later, Larrañaga replied that reports he received from Macon indicated that no one there knew Andrews, and he forwarded to Calderón newspaper clippings from Macon regarding the new Cuban expedition.⁹⁰

The Spanish spy network in the United States kept Cuban Captain General José de la Concha well informed on developing events. Concha issued a circular on 20 April informing the military districts on the island of preparations for the expedition and that "For the extermination of the pirates, whatever their number, extraordinary measures are not needed; common means employed by the Government are more than enough." The circular asked district commanders to suppress any enthusiasm that would "disturb the harmony needed now more than ever to reign among the inhabitants of the Island."⁹¹

When Gonzales concluded his expedition preparations in Savannah, he notified López in New Orleans by cryptic telegram. Another group of expeditionaries had assembled in New Orleans, to be led by Hungarian revolutionary Janos Pragay, former Adjutant-General to Kossuth,

who two months earlier had emigrated to Texas with a group of his countrymen. He checked into the St. Louis Hotel on 21 April.⁹² The next day, Major General Winfield Scott arrived at the same hotel on unspecified "official business."⁹³ It remains unclear if Scott went there to suppress the filibusters, but it appears to be more than mere coincidence that he departed nine days later, the morning after the *Picayune* reported that the Cuban expedition attempt had been abandoned.⁹⁴ Sigur's *Delta* questioned the meaning of the Scott visit, since "His departure was as quiet and unostentatious as his arrival and sojourn here." Although the trip was attributed to political electioneering by some people, the newspaper indicated that the general had done nothing of that sort.⁹⁵ Scott's biographers omitted mention of this trip to Louisiana or its possible motive.⁹⁶

Meanwhile, López and two staff members had gone to Macon and met with Gonzales and the Georgia companies. As they prepared to take the Georgia Central to Savannah on Friday, 25 April, Lama telegraphed Gonzales that the Collector of Customs, Hiram Roberts, and the federal marshal were waiting at the railroad depot to arrest them.⁹⁷ López immediately wrote to Sigur desperately proposing to sail to Cuba with only the two hundred Georgians accompanying him.⁹⁸ Gonzales communicated to Lama to have a carriage waiting at railroad Station No. 1, ten miles outside Savannah. Gonzales wrote thirty-three years later that about four hundred expeditionaries boarded the train at Macon, and disembarked at railroad Station No. 2, twenty miles from Savannah, and were sent under sealed orders to Burnt Fort, the departure point on the Satilla River, upstream from Woodbine plantation.⁹⁹ He and López continued on the train to the next station, where they boarded the carriage that took them into Savannah that evening by country road.¹⁰⁰

Another point of departure was the St. John's River in Jacksonville, Florida, from where on 25 April the correspondent of the *Newark Advertiser* was writing that within thirty-six hours the expedition was to sail from Jacksonville, Georgia and New Orleans. The reporter claimed to have seen a letter from General Gonzales a week earlier, dated at Savannah, the headquarters of operations, "directing the movements of men and military stores."¹⁰¹ He also saw in a storehouse in Jacksonville some 400 bushels of oats for forage, "cannon, gun carriages, rifles, muskets, ammunition, and the furniture of an army equipment to a very large amount," along with great quantities of wood and resin to fuel ocean steamers.

The correspondent indicated that most of the privates were Mexican War veterans and erroneously claimed that "Gen. Quitman is said to command and Lopez to be the second." The Jacksonville expeditionaries included Creoles, Cubans and a few Cárdenas veterans. The article said that a lieutenancy had been offered to a brother of General Shields in Savannah for \$1,000, with a promise of \$10,000 in Cuban bonds. The departure from Jacksonville had been scheduled ten days earlier for the 26th, but "Gonzales has been threatened with arrest at Savannah."¹⁰² John Henderson, who had helped load the armament on the departing *Creole* the previous year, was back in New Orleans on the 26th,¹⁰³ to assist in the latest endeavor. The plot was betrayed by informant Doctor Daniel Henry Burnett, and the U.S. government seized the steamer *Cleopatra* in New York harbor, chartered for the expedition. His testimony before a Grand Jury implicated Gonzales and resulted in indictments against O'Sullivan, Lewis and Schlessinger.¹⁰⁴

After arriving in Savannah on the evening of the 25th, Gonzales and López were driven at midnight by twenty-eight-year-old merchant George A. McCleskey to the town of Thunderbolt, five miles east of the city.¹⁰⁵ His father, Thomas J. McCleskey, was the Senior Warden of

masonic Clinton Lodge, No. 54, in Savannah.¹⁰⁶ The younger McCleskey took the Cubans in a rowboat down the Augustine River to the plantation of thirty-two-year-old Elias B. Barstow, on Wilmington Island. One account, which has been disputed, claimed that Gonzales and López were "dressed as women and wore green face veils."¹⁰⁷ Barstow, born in Massachussets, seems to have been a freemason, whose fraternal vows did not allow him to deny aid to his brethren making the distress sign. He told the Cubans that he was a Whig, opposed to the expedition, "but as my guests you are welcome, and my house is yours."¹⁰⁸ The next day, the conspirators received a dispatch from O'Sullivan informing that the *Cleopatra* had been seized in New York and the expedition there disbanded. López returned to Savannah and Gonzales later departed for the Spalding plantation on Sapelo Island, forty miles further south. Gonzales signaled the passing steamer *Magnolia* and a boat was lowered to pick him up. When the boatswain recognized him, he warned the Cuban to go back, because Collector Roberts and the marshal were on board to arrest him. Back in the Barstow residence, Gonzales was provided a black guide who hid him deep in the woods. The Cuban remained there all day, in a pouring rain, while the slave fetched his meals. Meanwhile, the federal agents on the *Magnolia* had seen Gonzales suspiciously fleeing the steamer after hailing it, ordered the captain to land them, and after ineffectual inquiries about him in the Barstow residence, they returned to Savannah.¹⁰⁹ Local accounts persisted a century later that Gonzales and López were concealed in the Barnard family tomb while the marshal snooped around Wilmington Island.¹¹⁰

The next day, Barstow took Gonzales in his boat up the Savannah River to Screven's Ferry, South Carolina, opposite the city of Savannah, and left him in charge of Samuel Prioleau Hamilton, whose father General James Hamilton, had been a War of 1812 veteran, a former

mayor of Charleston, a South Carolina Nullification Democrat legislator and governor, and a Texas Republic diplomat, instrumental in its annexation into the Union.¹¹¹ Hamilton decided to take Gonzales to his father's cotton plantation on Callawassie Island, on the Colleton River, Beaufort District, South Carolina. They headed back down the Savannah River, toward Wilmington Island, passing Collector Roberts on the customhouse boat, which had gone to look for Gonzales at the plantation of William Henry Mongin on Daufuskie Island, South Carolina. The thirty-four-year-old Mongin resided with his wife Isabel R. Habersham in Savannah.¹¹² He apparently played a role in the preparation of the expedition, known to the collector, but Gonzales never revealed the details.¹¹³ Hamilton had Gonzales lie on the bottom of the open boat, covered him with an overcoat, and went unnoticed. At dusk they reached the landing place at the mouth of the river on the South Carolina shore, and proceeded some twenty miles on horseback until arriving at the Hamilton plantation at midnight. Gonzales was secreted for a month in a pinewoods shack, one mile from the rice fields, under the care of the overseer.¹¹⁴

While the news of the invasion plans kept buzzing in Georgia and South Carolina, on 28 April the British Consul in Charleston paid a call to his Spanish counterpart. He told Larrañaga that "the only way of impeding this invasion, would be to free the slaves of that island, and in that regard he had written extensively to the British Consul in Havana...." Larrañaga notified Minister Calderón in Washington, D.C. that the matter was "highly delicate," and considered it "out of his sphere" to mention it to the Captain General, as the British Consul suggested.¹¹⁵ Calderón approved not sending the British Consul message of emancipation to Captain General Concha, as "We have the means to defend and conserve our dominions."¹¹⁶ Larrañaga forwarded to Concha on 30 April two local newspaper accounts announcing that the Cuban

expedition had been frustrated. He also wrote that Georgian Allen F. Owen, the newly appointed American Consul to Havana, had offered to personally inform Concha in great detail on filibuster activities in Savannah and Macon, once he arrived in Cuba on the steamer *Isabel* from Charleston.¹¹⁷

Back in Savannah, John Lama sent a telegram on 2 May to the conspirators in New Orleans: "Mr. Souverville [López] cannot recover his health and returns to that city."¹¹⁸ That morning the *Picayune* announced that the expedition had been disbanded in the Atlantic ports and New Orleans, from where most of the volunteers had returned West within the past few days, "slightly disgusted."¹¹⁹ Sigur was in hiding, not just from the federal authorities, but also from the stranded Arkansas expeditionaries who were demanding compensation and wanted to lynch him. Three days later, Savannah Customs Collector Hiram Roberts was informing the Acting Secretary of the Treasury in Washington, D.C., that the Cuba expedition had ended and that López had "gone to Mobile, and Gonzalles [*sic*] 'tis likely is wending his way towards Florida, of his whereabouts however there is nothing certain...."¹²⁰ López was back in New Orleans on 7 May with a beard to disguise his appearance. He told Villaverde that when he arrived in Savannah there was an arrest order against him but because he had "masonic protection," the City Marshal refused to detain him.¹²¹ The City Marshal was thirty-eight-year-old attorney Daniel H. Stewart, the Junior Warden of masonic Clinton Lodge, No. 54, in Savannah, where filibuster conspirator Thomas J. McCleskey was the Senior Warden.¹²² Two days later, John Henderson returned to New Orleans to meet with López, and checked into the St. Louis Hotel.¹²³ A meeting was held to device damage control and decide what to do after this last failure.

The judicial victory had provided a moral victory after the Cárdenas defeat. The trials

became a public forum in which Gonzales, Henderson, Quitman, and other filibusters were able to propagate their political views. As a result, other Southerners, including Governor Towns, flocked under the Cuban annexation banner, which was now a symbol of slave territorial expansion. Their collaboration in the *Cleopatra* expedition, mostly through the arrangements of Gonzales, made it the best organized and equipped enterprise of the Cuban Junta. Once again, however, the efforts of the Spanish diplomatic espionage network, managed to penetrate the weakest point, which proved to be O'Sullivan. This major setback did not discourage Gonzales and the Junta leadership, who decided to try their hand at insurrection once again.

NOTES

1. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Bee*, 23 January 1851, 1.
2. U.S. Senate, Ex. Doc. 41, 31st Congress, 2d Session, 89.
3. A. Calderón de la Barca to Charleston Consul, 28 January 1851, Spanish Consulate Papers, Charleston.
4. *Copiador General*, 1 February 1851, *Ibid.*
5. Louis Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative of Louis Schlesinger, of Adventures in Cuba and Ceuta," *Democratic Review*, September 1852, 211.
6. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Bee*, 28 January 1851, 1; "U.S. Circuit Court," *Picayune*, 28 January 1851, 2; and *Bulletin*, 28 January 1851.
7. 1850 Louisiana Free Census, New Orleans, 2nd Municipality, 139; and *New Orleans Directory 1851*, 1.
8. 1850 Louisiana Free Census, New Orleans, 1st Municipality, 162; *New Orleans Directory, 1851*, 20.
9. 1850 Louisiana Free Census, New Orleans, 1st Municipality, 13; and *New Orleans Directory, 1851*, 71.
10. 1850 Louisiana Free Census, Orleans Parish, 99; and *New Orleans Directory, 1851*, 106.
11. "United States Circuit Court," *Delta*, 31 January 1851, 2; "U.S. Circuit Court," *Picayune*, 12 February 1851, 2; and *New Orleans Directory, 1851*.
12. "The United States vs. John Henderson," *Delta*, 1 February 1851, 2.
13. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Picayune*, 1 February 1851, 1.
14. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Bee*, 4 February 1851, 1.
15. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Evening Picayune*, 5 February 1851, 1.
16. *Ibid.*, 7 February 1851, 1; "United States Circuit Court," *Delta*, 8 February 1851, 2; "United States Circuit Court," *Bee*, 8 February 1851, 1.
17. "United States vs. John Henderson," *Delta*, 9 February 1851, 2.
18. "United States Court," *Delta*, 11 February 1851, 2; and "U.S. Circuit Court," *Picayune*, 11 February 1851, 2.
19. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Evening Picayune*, 11 February 1851, 1.
20. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Delta*, 12 February 1851, 2.
21. *Ibid.*; "U.S. Circuit Court," *Picayune*, 12 February 1851, 2; and "U.S. Circuit Court," *Bee*, 12 February 1851, 1.

22. "United States Circuit Court," *Delta*, 16 February 1851, 2; and "U.S. Circuit Court," *Picayune*, 16 February 1851, 4.
23. "District Court of the United States," *Delta*, 18 February 1851, 2.
24. "U. S. Circuit Court," *Evening Picayune*, 17 February 1851, 2.
25. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, III, 114-115.
26. 1850 Georgia Free Census, Chatham County; and *Proceedings of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Georgia* (1850), 52.
27. 1850 Georgia Census, Chatham County, Georgia.
28. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, III, 107.
29. *Ibid.*, 217.
30. "Arrivals at the Principal Hotels," *Picayune*, 26 February 1851, 2.
31. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Picayune*, 2 March 1851, 4.
32. 1850 Louisiana Free Census, Third District in Orleans Parish, 125; and *New Orleans Directory*, 1851, 119.
33. *New Orleans Directory*, 1851, 63.
34. *Ibid.*, 33.
35. 1850 Louisiana Free Census, Third District in Orleans Parish, 184; and *New Orleans Directory*, 1851, 68.
36. "The Cuban Meeting Last Night," *Picayune*, 27 July 1851, 2; and "Cuban Committees," *Picayune*, 29 July 1851, 2.
37. 1850 Louisiana Free Census, Third District in Orleans Parish, 190.
38. 1850 Louisiana Free Census, 1st Municipality of New Orleans, 29; and *New Orleans Directory*, 1851, 96.
39. 1850 Louisiana Free Census, Third District in Orleans Parish, 141.
40. *Ibid.*, 140.
41. 1850 Louisiana Free Census, 2nd Municipality, New Orleans, 231; and *New Orleans Directory*, 1851, 95.
42. Bertram Wallace Korn, *The Early Jews of New Orleans* (Waltham, Mass.: American Jewish Historical Society, 1969), 188.
43. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Picayune*, 4 March 1851, 2.
44. "The Courts," *Evening Picayune*, 4 March 1851, 1; and "The Courts," *Bee*, 5 March 1851, 1.
45. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Picayune*, 5 March 1851, 2; and May, *Quitman*, 251.

46. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Bee*, 6 March 1851, 1.
47. "U.S. Circuit Court," *Picayune*, 7 March 1851, 2.
48. "The Cuban Prosecutions Abandoned," *Evening Picayune*, 7 March 1851, 1; "U.S. District Court," *Daily Bee*, 7 and 8 March 1851, 1; and "The Late Cuba State Trials," *Democratic Review*, April 1852, 307.
49. Logan Hunton to Daniel Webster, 7 March 1851, in Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, XI, 101.
50. *Ibid.*, 101-102.
51. "Arrivals at the Principal Hotels," *Picayune*, 8 March 1851, 2.
52. "Dinner to Gen. Quitman," *Picayune*, 13 March 1851, 2.
53. "Passengers on the Georgia," *Picayune*, 20 March 1851, 1.
54. "Americans in Havana," *Picayune*, 23 March 1851, 2.
55. "Espediente relativo a la espulsion del Consul de la republica de Venezuela D. Manuel Muñoz," *Boletín del Archivo Nacional*, July-December 1921, 298-299.
56. *Ibid.*, 300-301; Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, III, 62; and *Delta*, 18 April 1851, 2.
57. "Espediente relativo a la espulsion...", 306.
58. "Married," *Delta*, 30 January 1851, 2.
59. AJG to M. B. Lamar, 14 March 1851, Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar Papers, Texas State Library.
60. Georgia Governor George Towns retired from politics in November 1851 to operate a cotton plantation with many slaves and died in Macon on 15 July 1854. Two years later, a new Georgia county was named after him. Lucian Lamar Knight, *Georgia's Landmarks, Memorials and Legends*, Vol. I (Atlanta: The Byrd Printing Company, 1913), 969-970; _____, *A Standard History of Georgia and Georgians*, Vol. V, 2716-2717; and Kenneth Coleman and Charles Stephen Gurr, *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, Vol. 2 (Athens, Ga.: The University of Georgia Press, 1983), 996-997.
61. AJG to M. B. Lamar, 14 March 1851, Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar Papers, Texas State Library; and 1850 Georgia Census, Schedule 1, Muscogee County, 304, 309. John Forsyth later became editor of the *Mobile Register*.
62. 1850 Georgia Census, City of Macon, Bibb County, 144.
63. AJG to Mirabeau Lamar, 14 March 1851, Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar Papers, Texas State Library; Gonzales, "The Cuban Crusade"; Folks Huxford, *Pioneers of Wiregrass Georgia*, Vol. V, (Waycross, Ga.: Herrin's Print Shop, 1967), 407; and 1850 Georgia Census, McIntosh County, 220.
64. AJG to Mirabeau Lamar, 14 March 1851, Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar Papers, Texas State Library.
65. "Another Expedition," *Picayune*, 7 April 1851, 3.
66. "The Rumored Cuban Expedition," *Evening Picayune*, 19 April 1851, 1.

67. "The Alleged Cuba Expedition--The Arrests at New York," *Delta*, 8 May 1851, 1.
68. *Delta*, 2 April 1851, 2.
69. *Evening Picayune*, 6 May 1851, 1.
70. A thirty-five-year-old Cuban "Mrs. De Ponte" lived in the same New Orleans private boarding house as *Crescent* editor John Duncan. 1850 Louisiana Free Census, Third District in Orleans Parish, 138.
71. "The Late Cuba Movements," *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, 21 April 1851, 3; "The Descent on Cuba," *The New York Daily Tribune*, 2 May 1851, 5; and L. M. Perez, "Lopez's Expeditions to Cuba, 1850-51," *Publications of the Southern History Association*, November 1906, 360.
72. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, III, 191-192.
73. Perez, "Lopez's Expeditions to Cuba, 1850-51," 348-349.
74. *Ibid.*, 350-352. Burnett eventually received \$12,000 for his services, two-thirds of it drawn from the Cuban treasury.
75. *Ibid.*, 352-353.
76. *Ibid.*, 360.
77. "Movements of the Fillibusters," *Evening Picayune*, 16 April 1851, 1; and "Cuba--More Rumors," *Bee*, 21 April 1851, 1.
78. "The Rumored Cuban Expedition," *Evening Picayune*, 19 April 1851, 1; and "The Late Cuban Movements," *National Intelligencer*, 21 April 1851, 3.
79. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, III, 464-465, 482-483; and "The Cuba Affair," *Evening Picayune* 20 May 1851, 1.
80. Henry Titus later fought with William Walker's filibusters in Nicaragua in 1855, tangled with the British for insulting the name of Queen Victoria, was a leader in the Kansas Crusade of 1855-56 against abolitionist John Brown, and was a Confederate blockade runner during the Civil War. In 1867, confined to a wheelchair with rheumatoid arthritis, he settled in Sand Point, Florida, became its postmaster, and changed the name of the town to Titusville, presently the gateway to the John F. Kennedy Space Center. Titus became wealthy as a developer, citrus grower, and administrator of a general store and the Titus House, "one of the finest combinations of saloons and hotels on the east coast of Florida." Ellwood C. Nance, *The East Coast of Florida: A History 1500-1961*, I (Delray Beach, Fla.: The Southern Publishing Company, 1962), 259; Georgiana Greene Kjerulff, *Tales of Old Brevard* (Melbourne, Fla.: Florida Institute of Technology Press, 1972), 26; and Elaine Murray Stone, *Brevard County: From Cape of the Canes to Space Coast* (Northridge, Ca.: Windsor Publications, 1988), 21.
81. Spanish Consulate Papers, Charleston, *Copiadador General*, 15 April 1851.
82. William R. Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Inter-American Affairs 1831-1860, Vol. VII--Great Britain* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1936), 433.
83. *Ibid.*
84. M. B. Lamar to General Gonzales, 12 April 1851, Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar Papers, Texas State Library.

85. Isaac Scott to Daniel Webster, 13 April 1851, State Department Files, Miscellaneous Letters, April-May 1851.

86. David Bailey eventually had five children with Isabelle Lang, who died in 1860. Four years later, he married her thirty-eight-year-old sister Catherine. Bailey was buried in 1889 in the Cambray plantation graveyard, which contains the remains of slaves and the latest Lang family generation. 1850 Georgia Census, Camden County, 171; 1860 Georgia Census, Camden County, 16; Cemetery Records of Camden County and Camden County Marriage Records, in the Bryan-Lang Historical Library, Woodbine, Georgia. The main house of Cambray plantation, built in the 1820s, is still inhabited by descendant Kevin Lang, who provided this writer a tour of the plantation and its cemetery in February 1994.

87. Woodbine Plantation Papers, Bryan-Lang Historical Society, Woodbine, Georgia; Camden County Historical Commission, *Camden's Challenge: A History of Camden County, Georgia* (Jacksonville, Fla.: Paramount Press, 1976, 57, 121-122; and _____, *Camden County Georgia*, 10. A personal tour of the plantation was provided to this writer by its present owners, Mack and Maryann McKenzie, in February 1994.

88. Angel Calderon de la Barca to Daniel Webster, 14 April 1851, in Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, XI, 587-588.

89. A. Calderón de la Barca to Vicente Antonio Larrañaga, 18 April 1851, Spanish Consulate Papers, Charleston.

90. *Copiador General*, 21 April 1851, *Ibid.*

91. Circular by José de la Concha, 20 April 1851, Spanish Consulate Papers, Savannah.

92. "Arrivals at the Principal Hotels," *Picayune*, 22 April 1851, 2.

93. "Arrival of Gen. Scott," *Picayune*, 23 April 1851, 2; and "Arrival of Gen. Winfield Scott," *Delta*, 23 April 1851, 2.

94. "The Cuba Expedition," *Evening Picayune*, 30 April 1851, 1; and *Delta*, 2 May 1851, 1.

95. "The General-in-Chief," *Delta*, 3 May 1851, 2.

96. Marcus J. Wright, *General Scott* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1894), 292-293; and Charles Winslow Elliott, *Winfield Scott: The Soldier and the Man* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937), 608.

97. Gonzales, "The Cuban Crusade."

98. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, III, 210-211.

99. Recently discovered evidence shows that the filibusters encamped at Burnt Fort in 1851, on the present-day Wildwood plantation, Camden County, Georgia. Allen Drury, a metal-detecting hobbyist from Folkston, Georgia, uncovered in that spot more than two hundred unfired musket balls, a few brass trigger guards, an eighteen-pound cannon ball, a Georgia Militia belt buckle, shirt buttons with the Georgia state seal, and fifteen Spanish coins.

100. Gonzales, "The Cuban Crusade."

101. "The Descent on Cuba," *New York Tribune*, 2 May 1851, 5.

102. *Ibid.*

103. "Arrivals at the Principal Hotels," *Picayune*, 27 April 1851, 2.
104. Perez, "Lopez's Expeditions to Cuba, 1850-51," 359-360.
105. Gonzales, "The Cuban Crusade"; and 1850 Georgia Census, Chatham County, 252.
106. 1850 Georgia Free Census, Chatham County; and *Proceedings of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Georgia* (1850), 79.
107. Fae Oemler Smith, "A Sea-Island Plantation, 'China Grove,' Wilmington Island, Ga.," Wilmington Island Collection, Savannah Public Library, Savannah, Georgia.
108. Gonzales, "The Cuban Crusade."
109. *Ibid.*
110. Fae Oemler Smith, "A Sea-Island Plantation, 'China Grove,' Wilmington Island, Ga.," Wilmington Island Collection, Savannah Public Library, Savannah, Georgia; and Thomas Gamble, "Trial of Lopez in Federal Court at Savannah Proved Triumph for the Cuban Patriot," *Savannah Morning News*, 10 March 1935.
111. N. Louise Bailey, Mary L. Morgan and Carolyn R. Taylor, *Biographical Dictionary of the South Carolina Senate 1776-1985*, Vol. I (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1986), 641-645; *Cyclopedia of Eminent and Representative Men of the Carolinas of the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. I (Madison, Wis.: Brant & Fuller, 1892), 560-561; and Frampton Erroll Ellis, *Some Historic Families of South Carolina* (Atlanta, Ga.: n.p., 1962, 2nd. Ed.), 66-67.
112. 1850 Georgia Free Census, Chatham County; and Galloway, *Directory of Savannah, 1850*, 28.
113. Gonzales, "The Cuban Crusade."
114. *Ibid.*
115. *Copiadador General*, 28 April 1851, Spanish Consulate Papers, Charleston.
116. A. Calderón de la Barca to Charleston Consul, 1 May 1851, *Ibid.*
117. *Copiadador General*, 30 April 1851, *Ibid.*
118. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, III, 211.
119. "The Cuba Expedition," *Picayune*, 2 May 1851, 2.
120. Hiram Roberts to William L. Hodge, 5 May 1851, in Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, XI, 105.
121. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, III, 211.
122. 1850 Georgia Free Census, Chatham County; David H. Galloway, *Directory of the City of Savannah, for the year, 1850* (Savannah: Edward C. Councell--Book and Job Printer, 1849); and *Proceedings of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Georgia* (1850), 79.
123. "Arrivals at the Principal Hotels," *Picayune*, 10 May 1851, 2.

CHAPTER VII

THE FILIBUSTER FIASCO

After the *Cleopatra* expedition setback, Cuban exiles were hotly divided over their continued support of the mercurial López, who had failed three times in two years, squandering money, armaments, vessels, and human efforts. From New York, Betancourt was trying to promote an internal uprising in his native Camagüey province, and some Junta supporters defected to his ranks. Even Villaverde, López's secretary, temporarily lost faith in the General and asked Betancourt to send him money to pay for his passage to New York. Although this was a crucial moment in Villaverde's life, which the extensive writer should have recorded in detail, no reference to it appears in his diary. The only evidence available is from Betancourt's reply to Villaverde's letters of 10 and 11 May.¹ This is another indication that the Villaverde diary was probably rewritten years later, when he was trying to redeem the image of López as an independence leader and not an annexationist.

Cuban revolutionaries in New Orleans held a meeting on 18 May at a house on 121 Gravier Street to prepare a commemorative act for the first anniversary of the landing at Cárdenas.² The *Bee* informed the next morning that the "friends of Cuban Liberty" would celebrate that evening with "music, banners, etc."³ Villaverde, who had changed his mind about going to New York, described the torch-light procession of some two hundred people, waving Cuban and American flags through the streets of New Orleans, arousing the ire of the Spanish residents.⁴

A week later, López decided to prepare another expedition.⁵ Laurent Sigur, in whose home López continued to reside, had not lost faith in his friend or the cause. On 10 June, he

bought the steamship *Pampero* by selling to John P. Heiss his interest in the *Delta* newspaper and printing company, which had provided him with a \$4,000 annual income.⁶ The new vessel, which shuttled between New Orleans and Galveston, arrived in Louisiana six days later, and the *Picayune* announced on 25 June that it was returning to Texas at six o'clock that afternoon.⁷ Villaverde must have read this announcement, since he wrote in his diary on that date that he went to see the *Pampero* for the first time and did not like it.⁸

Some fifty Cuban exiles gathered on 19 June at a house on 124 St. Louis Street in New Orleans, to give a vote of confidence to López. Only four dissidents, including Cárdenas veteran José M. Hernández, refused to sign a document addressed to López reiterating their support.⁹ The next day, a grateful López swore on his honor to his benefactor Sigur that if he was unable to land in Cuba this time, he would retire to his native Venezuela, without saying a word to anyone.¹⁰ Having thus sealed his own fate, from then on, it was do or die.

Gonzales never wavered in supporting López. In early June, he decided to inspect the armament left on the Woodbine plantation. To get there from South Carolina, the available route was by ocean to St. Mary's, the only Georgia port south of Savannah, and taking the Old Post Road that crossed the Camden County pinelands in a northwestern direction. St. Marys was a bustling lumber and shipbuilding town on the Georgia side of the St. Marys River, which separated the state of Florida. When Gonzales arrived, there was a courthouse, five churches, three schools, a market, nine dry goods and grocery stores, three physicians, three lawyers and a federal Collector.¹¹ For the twenty-five mile overland journey to Woodbine plantation, Gonzales hired a buggy and a black guide. After going less than ten miles, they got drenched in a midday thunderstorm and their horse gave out. The driver suggested seeking help at the nearby

Laurel Isle cotton plantation. As Gonzales approached the mansion, he apparently flashed the masonic sign of distress to the tall gentleman standing on the wide piazza. The Cuban introduced himself and described his situation. "It so happens," said the stranger, "that I have an order for your arrest from the President of the United States." The plantation owner identified himself as John Hardee Dilworth, the Collector of St. Mary's, and assured his stunned visitor, "I am most happy to make your acquaintance and to welcome you to my house. I sympathize deeply with your cause; had I seen you at St. Mary's I would certainly have arrested you."¹² The thirty-nine-year-old Dilworth had studied at the University of Georgia and was a Colonel in the Third Regiment, Georgia Militia.¹³ Gonzales was invited to dine with Dilworth, his wife and three teenagers, and received lodging for the night. The next day, he departed with a fresh horse and the guide, and after completing his task at the Woodbine plantation, returned to the South Carolina Low Country.

It seems that while Gonzales was hiding in the Beaufort District, he became acquainted with his future father-in-law William Elliott, a sixty-three-year-old locally prominent planter, politician and writer. Precisely how or when the two met is not clear. One writer claimed that Gonzales went to Charleston with letters of introduction from Quitman and Beauregard, and was Elliott's guest at Oak Lawn plantation, after his arrest warrant was issued.¹⁴ Another author believed that Gonzales perhaps appeared at Oak Lawn during "his recruiting in the Savannah area."¹⁵ The planting season started in late March or early April, a time when Elliott was shuttling between his Hilton Head Island and Oak Lawn plantations, his Beaufort summer home, and Charleston. Elliott had scheduled a fishing trip to Parris Island, on Port Royal Sound, with his sons William Jr. and Ralph for mid-April, and was therefore in the same area as Gonzales

at the same time.¹⁶ Elliott was also friends with the Hamiltons, William H. Mongin, and others who assisted Gonzales.

The Cuban and the Carolinian eventually formed a strong bond through their mutual interests: both proceeded from aristocratic planter families; they belonged to the masonic fraternity, Elliott being initiated in 1808 in the Charleston Orange Lodge, No. 14;¹⁷ both were college graduates, Elliott receiving an M.A. degree from Harvard; both were Jacksonian Democrats who regarded slavery as an economic necessity and favored American expansionism, especially the annexation of Cuba to the United States; both were impressive orators; both spoke French and had travelled in Europe; both were outstanding sharpshooters; both played the piano and had a taste for classical music; both frequented the opera; both were voracious readers and Elliott's voluminous library at Oak Lawn allowed them much literary conversation; both were good billiard players and the Oak Lawn pool table was a source of shared recreation; both suffered from asthma; and both men had a similar obstinate temperament¹⁸ and a streak of vanity that surfaced under stress. The thirty-two-year-old Cuban came to view the Carolinian as the paternal figure that he missed dearly, Elliott being the same age as his deceased father, and the Carolinian extended a paternal affection to the dashing swashbuckler, who had exceeded the expectations he had of his own sons, especially William Jr., a recent Harvard dropout. Gonzales also became close with one of the Elliott sons and after his departure he spoke kindly of the Elliott family.¹⁹ While Gonzales was underground, the *Picayune* of 13 May described him as "thoroughly Americanized," having "on all occasions exhibited courage and talents of a high order, with fine manners and courteous address."²⁰ These characteristics allowed him to glide easily into the Elliott world, instead of having "abruptly crashed" it, as has been suggested.²¹

While staying at the home of Colonel Gaston Allen in Bluffton, South Carolina, four miles from the Hamilton's Callawassie Island plantation, Gonzales was afflicted with a "severe bilious fever," most likely malaria, which left him prostrated and under a physician's care.²² On 23 June, he answered a letter from Villaverde in New Orleans, using the Elias Barstow address on Wilmington Island as a cover, and indicated that he was taking quinine to alleviate the fever.²³ López advised Gonzales to recuperate with great care and await word on the next expedition scheduled for the fall.²⁴ Gonzales went to the summer resort at Fauquier White Sulphur Springs, in Warrenton, Virginia, but rumors originating in Savannah purported that "Gen. Gonzales had left the sea-coast of Georgia with troops in three steamboats."²⁵

López received a telegram on 1 July from Betancourt in New York, announcing that an uprising in his native Camagüey was imminent. The General was outraged that he was omitted from the plans and that Betancourt did not aid his planned expedition.²⁶ The annexationist insurrection led by Joaquín de Agüero, a thirty-four-year-old freemason, was scheduled for the 4 July anniversary of American independence. Two days earlier, his wife confessed the plot to a local priest and gave him a Cuban flag she had sewn to be placed on the church altar during a special mass. When the service ended, the priest returned the emblem, and ran to inform the authorities.²⁷ Agüero, accompanied by forty-four men, many of them members of his masonic lodge, issued a proclamation of independence on 4 July in a farm on the outskirts of Puerto Príncipe. After various skirmishes with Spanish troops, Agüero and his remaining followers were captured on 23 July.²⁸ The news of this defeat was not published until the following month, after López had landed in Cuba, because the government suspended postal service in Puerto Príncipe.²⁹

The lack of information from Cuba on the impending insurrection made López restless. He sent his agent P. F. de Gournay to Havana on 13 July, on the steamer *Cherokee*, bearing a false passport under the name O'Callaghan. Gournay carried a letter from López to his followers on the island, telling them to revolt as soon as they heard that he had landed, to detain all government officials, to form a council and name a leader among them who would rule until he established contact with them.³⁰ The next day, the New Orleans *Picayune* announced that four separatist conspirators in Puerto Príncipe, pursued by the government, had "escaped to the mountains, where they have since been joined by upwards of twenty of their comrades, who are implicated. They have taken with them a printing press and other materials, and are scattering liberal opinions from their place of retreat. They find no difficulty in receiving ample supplies from Puerto Principe."³¹ The impulsive López decided to hasten his plans, and the next day sent his secretary Villaverde to Savannah with a note of instructions addressed to Gonzales, John Lama, Henry Titus and Juan Macías. The message read: "Mr. Villaverde the bearer of this is my same person and will tell you what is needed that you do to support my plans and triumph. As always your affectionate friend."³² Portell Vilá interpreted this friendly terse message as designating Villaverde "to direct everything related with the second expeditionary contingent, superseding Gonzales and the rest of the Cubans in that leadership position."³³ Portell Vilá tried to place Villaverde in a leading military role that he never had the capacity to fill, especially after avoiding the Cárdenas expedition. There was no reason to change the revolutionary command structure in Savannah. If that had been the case, López would certainly have given a lengthier explanation to his followers there than just a one-sentence note. Villaverde was apparently only playing his role as personal secretary and messenger.

When Villaverde arrived in Savannah on 23 July, he was greeted with the news of the previous day of the Agüero uprising.³⁴ That same evening in New Orleans, a large crowd filled Lafayette Square for a Cuban rally expecting General López to speak. The meeting was presided by forty-seven-year-old attorney Myer M. Cohen, a former South Carolina legislator and veteran of the 1836 Seminole War.³⁵ The organizing committee included attorney James G. Howard; Jesse Gilmore, sheriff of Lafayette; Durant Da Ponte, assistant editor of the *Picayune*; and William Monaghan, who gave \$500 toward the bond used to secure filibuster weapons from the State Arsenal the previous year. A resolution of solidarity with Cuban liberty was drafted by attorney Perry S. Warfield and Felipe N. Gotay, who had joined the expeditionaries in Cárdenas, among others. López did not appear, but General Felix Huston, a Mississippi secessionist and Quitman confidant, and Colonel W. S. Clendennin addressed the crowd.³⁶

López was overjoyed and restless due to the events in Cuba and the massive outpouring of public support in New Orleans for his cause. He wanted to leave immediately with only a few Cuban friends in a small fast vessel, but Sigur and others induced him to wait until the *Pampero* returned from Galveston so that the weapons saved from the *Cleopatra* expedition could be taken to Cuba.³⁷ This was the armament that Gonzales had hidden in the Woodbine Plantation in Georgia. It appears that other weapons were stored in the sawmill of Cárdenas veteran Henry T. Titus on the bank of the St. John's River in Jacksonville. Villaverde took inventory of the armament and Portell Vilá claimed that it was "almost useless because of the careless way it had been stored," and blamed the neglect on Titus and Gonzales.³⁸ Portell Vilá is not clear as to the extent of the deterioration, and also failed to differentiate between the weapons Gonzales left in Woodbine Plantation and those in possession of Titus. Portell Vilá claimed that when Villaverde

arrived, Gonzales "was not in Savannah nor was his whereabouts known...."³⁹ Portell Vilá made this conclusion because he did not cite the Gonzales article written years later detailing his convalescence at Fauquier White Sulphur Springs during this period.⁴⁰ It is highly unlikely that Gonzales would not have informed his fellow conspirators that he was convalescing in Fauquier White Sulphur Springs, in Warrenton, Virginia, especially since he had written to Villaverde a month earlier. What is still not clear is when or how long it took them to notify him to return to Savannah. López sent his last letter to Savannah, dated 24 July, with courier Agustín Manresa, informing that the expedition would leave New Orleans on Thursday the 31st, and would be at St. John's River four days later.⁴¹

Another Cuban rally was held on 26 July in the glass-roofed courtyard at Bank's Arcade after the *Picayune* published the latest news of the first Agüero victory against Spanish troops.⁴² It was presided by the harbor master, Captain James Stockton, with the assistance of, among others, Durant Da Ponte; Judge Alexander Walker, the *Delta* editor; Dr. A. J. Wedderburn, a University of Louisiana professor of anatomy; J. L. Levy, a real estate, stock and note broker; Commission merchant N. C. Hall; T. P. White, a stock and exchange broker; and slave auctioneers Gardner Smith and James L. Carman, of Carman & Ricardo, who advertised that their new slave depot had "comfortable accommodations for 300 slaves."⁴³ Judge Walker read a copy of the Agüero Cuban Declaration of Independence, and then made a brief address. A committee on collections was established, which included organizers Carman, Cohen, Levy, Smith; along with Daniel Israel Ricardo, notary public and slave auctioneer; Joseph Genois, Recorder of the First Municipality; two coffee house owners, Malachi Kelly and William Burns; grocer Charles H. Noble; notary public Emile Hiriart; E. Wood Perry, wood, lamp and oil store owner; and Irish

grocer J. J. Fitzpatrick, a juror who voted for acquittal in the last filibuster trial.⁴⁴

General Huston addressed the crowd for an hour, contending that Americans had the right to assist Cuba in her independence struggle and concluded asking three cheers for the Cuban Declaration of Independence, which were loud and prolonged. General López then appeared on the stand and received a tumultuous welcome. López spoke briefly in Spanish, with Laurent Sigur providing the translation. López alluded to United States Independence by saying that the rebels in Cuba drew their sword "believing that you, who had pointed the way, could not forsake them when they had followed in your footsteps."⁴⁵

To urgently raise funds, the committee on collections was quickly expanded to include William Logan Crittenden, a Custom House officer; David Orcutt, the cabinet maker who denounced a perjured juror during the second filibuster trial; physician A. L. Saunders; commission merchant D. Mitchel; coffee house and grocery store owner Arthur O'Donnell; clerk John Petit; and Henry Rareshide, who later joined Walker's Nicaraguan filibusters. To provide further assistance a Committee on Address was created with attorneys John F. H. Claiborne, Christian Roselius, Perry S. Warfield, Cyprien Dufour; Judge Alexander Walker; General Felix Huston; Durant Da Ponte; merchant Cuthbert Bullitt, brother of *Picayune* editor A. C. Bullitt; Isaac Johnson and W. E. Thompson.⁴⁶

A leading conspirator missing from these activities was Doctor George A. Gardiner, the character witness for Gonzales during his naturalization process. He had been under federal investigation for the past three months for having fraudulently obtained \$428,740 from the Mexican Claims Commission. Gardiner purported that a silver mine that he owned in San Luis Potosí had been blown up by the Mexican army. The dentist had fled to England and his brother

John Carlos Gardiner had been imprisoned on 18 July for perjury in support of the claim.⁴⁷ Doctor Gardiner was eventually tried by a jury in Washington, D.C., convicted, and sentenced to ten years imprisonment and labor. While being led to jail he committed suicide by swallowing strychnine from his pocket.⁴⁸ The Gardiner brothers were no longer active in the filibuster movement when this scandal surfaced.

Many filibuster volunteers descended on New Orleans as the news of the Cuban uprising spread. Half a dozen youths from Shelby County, Kentucky, some of whom were probably Cárdenas veterans, left there to join López.⁴⁹ Schlesinger and *Creole* Captain Lewis, who on 16 July had appeared with O'Sullivan before a federal district court in New York on charges stemming from the *Cleopatra* expedition, arrived on 28 July in New Orleans.⁵⁰ O'Sullivan, as usual, stayed behind during the call to arms. The Crescent City was "all in a blaze of sympathizing excitement about Cuba and for Cuba." The Cuban flag appeared everywhere, flown from buildings or displayed in windows. Newspapers and wall posters announced public meetings, and Cuba was the topic raging from the streetcorner to the pulpit. Schlesinger found López "in a state of eager impatience for his departure, chafing at the delay like an imprisoned lion."⁵¹ The exuberance heightened on 31 July when the *Picayune* reported that Trinidad and Villa Clara, where López had organized the 1848 insurrection, had also broken out in revolution.⁵² When the *Pampero* arrived late in New Orleans due to engine trouble, the Spanish Consul asked the federal authorities to seize it. William Crittenden, a Cárdenas veteran employed at the Custom House, informed López on Friday afternoon, 1 August, that the vessel would be impounded on Monday morning.⁵³ The general then ordered the expedition to sail the next day at midnight, and the needed repairs would be done at the Balize.



COLONEL WILLIAM LOGAN CRITTENDEN

Another Cuban rally was organized in Bank's Arcade that Saturday evening, with thousands of people attending. The meeting was called to order by slave auctioneer Daniel I. Ricardo. He told the crowd that the cause of the Cuban patriots was that of the founding fathers of 1776. Pointing to the star on the Cuban flag above the platform, he said it would not be long before it would join the galaxy of stars on the American flag, to which he also pointed to on the stage. The meeting ended after Colonel Alexander Pope Field, a Whig lawyer, gave an impromptu speech on behalf of Cuban liberty.⁵⁴ López and other prominent figures were not present, as they were tending to departure preparations. López had previously made arrangements with Cárdenas veteran Major Thomas Hawkins to raise a regiment of six hundred carefully chosen Kentuckians and Hoosiers to serve as his main force. The Trinidad news made López hasten his departure, and instead of waiting for this elite force to arrive, he took a group raised within forty-eight hours in the streets of New Orleans.⁵⁵ López knew that the riff-raff that Colonel Wheat had mustered under the same circumstances the previous year had greatly contributed to the Cárdenas failure. Gonzales attributed the hasty departure to López believing the newspaper accounts fabricated by the Spanish government of widespread insurrection on the island, and not wanting to "miss the opportunity of marching in triumph into Havana."⁵⁶ The last letter he had received from López had stated that the next expedition would sail in the fall.⁵⁷ Crittenden had been appointed to command the Kentucky Regiment, which López now decided to leave behind to act as a reinforcement expedition, but Crittenden would not wait for their arrival. He quickly raised, with the help of Victor Kerr, the 114 New Orleans youths that constituted the First Regiment of Artillery. López left authority for Cárdenas veterans Colonels Chatham Roberdeau Wheat and one-armed Lieutenant Colonel William H. Bell to form other

regiments. He excluded from the enterprise the mutinous Colonel N. J. Bunch and Colonel Theodore O'Hara. Unaware that López had changed plans once again, Major Hawkins and Colonel John T. Pickett reached New Orleans the day after the expedition sailed, while their force arrived a week later.⁵⁸

The *Pampero* lay docked at the St. Mary's Street wharf in Lafayette at midnight on Saturday, 2 August, when López arrived one hour after the scheduled departure with his Chief of Staff Janos Pragay, Louis Schlesinger, and other staff members. They were cheered by a wild throng of thousands milling about the area. H. Turner, of the Mexican Gulf Railroad Company, presented the filibusters with an elegant silk Cuban flag.⁵⁹ Among the crowd was twenty-year-old Lucy Holcombe, bidding farewell to her beau, Colonel Crittenden. Lucy would later write a romantic version of the expedition under the pen name H. M. Hardiman,⁶⁰ but she became better known after marrying South Carolina secessionist Governor Francis W. Pickens and her portrait appeared on the Confederate \$100 bill.⁶¹ The loading of passengers and provisions lasted until daybreak, when the tow-boat *Union* pulled the *Pampero* downstream. The vessels stopped a dozen miles south of New Orleans to board a company of nine Germans and nine Hungarians, and the First Regiment of Cuban Patriots. This unit contained forty-nine Cubans and Spaniards, including a dozen Spanish soldiers who had deserted at Cárdenas, commanded by Captain Ildefonso Oberto, a former Spanish soldier born in Venezuela. Forty miles above the Balize, the *Pampero* took on coal, arms and ammunition from the boat *Ben Adams*, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon.⁶² Captain Lewis then announced that the steamer could not put out to sea with the five hundred men on board, and about one hundred were sent back to New Orleans on the *Union*, to form a reinforcement expedition. Lewis knew that he still had to

pick up Gonzales, Sánchez Iznaga, Macías and other Cubans in Jacksonville along with artillery and the weapons remaining from the *Cleopatra* venture. Meanwhile, the steamer *Cincinnati* passed them on the way to Havana, carrying despatches for Captain General Concha informing that López was on his way. The consul had been unable to charter a fast ship for the mission and had to purchase this "poor and slow old boat," with a speed of five to six miles an hour, which the *Pampero* passed up in the Gulf on the second day. When the *Cincinnati* finally arrived in Havana, the expeditionaries had already won their first battle.⁶³

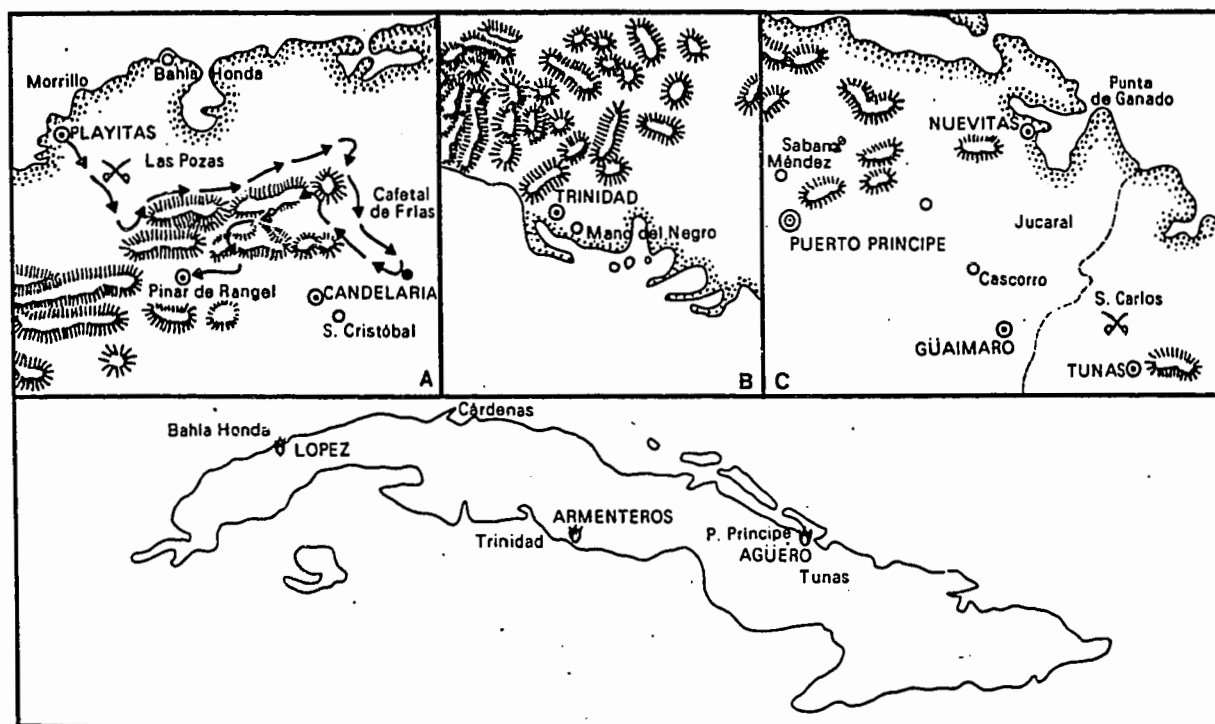
The *Pampero* proceeded at seven o'clock that evening to Fort Jackson, where they took on more coal and continued fixing the engine until eight o'clock the next morning. One expeditionary calculated there were 450 men on board.⁶⁴ Schlesinger estimated them to be "a little over 400."⁶⁵ Another participant gave an exact number of 434 men.⁶⁶ The day the *Pampero* left, the *Delta* proclaimed that the situation in Cuba was "similar to that of the colonists at the breaking out of the war of 1776." The Cubans had the enthusiasm and bravery, according to the newspaper, all they needed was military instruction. In apparent reference to the filibusters' recent trial victory, the editorial concluded, "Thank God, there is no law to interfere with those American citizens who desire to go to Cuba for the purpose of instructing the patriots in the *useful art* of war. They may go as individuals or in squads, armed or unarmed. There is no power [sic] can prevent them; and it would be a disgrace to this Republic if any attempt were made to usurp such power."⁶⁷ The *Picayune* unabashedly announced the Sunday morning departure of the expedition.⁶⁸ They later editorialized that although they "had no active participation" in the expedition, "We are for the acquisition of more territory, for the protection and security of the South against Northern aggressions and enslavement. With these sentiments, we cordially hailed

the news of the outbreak in Cuba."⁶⁹

The malfunctioning *Pampero* engine and the excess weight created greater consumption of coal to produce propulsion steam, so that after five days at sea, when approaching Key West, Captain Lewis told López that there was only enough coal to sail for three more days, at a speed of eight or nine knots, instead of the usual fifteen knots.⁷⁰ The steamer stopped at Key West, where López expected to find letters from his collaborators with the latest information about the uprisings on the island. López sent Captain Lewis ashore on a boat, to meet with his supporters and to find a pilot experienced with the Cuban coast. A number of citizens sailed out to the *Pampero* on the schooner *Euphemia* and stated that most of the Spanish troops in Havana had been sent to the region of the uprising in the center of the island, that the insurrection had extended to thirteen towns and had pushed westward to Vuelta Abajo, and that most of the Cuban people anxiously awaited the arrival of the liberators.⁷¹ Lewis returned without a pilot but with a number of supporters, including United States Senator Stephen Mallory, who put on the general's finger a hair ring for good luck. López consulted with the Creoles in this group for some time.⁷²

After the visitors left, the steamer departed at ten o'clock on the night of 11 August. López had already decided to head for western Cuba, ninety miles distant, instead of making the one-thousand-mile round trip to Jacksonville. The General called a war council and the officers informed him that they and the men "were now impatient to strike straight across for the nearest part of the Island, and unwilling to go round first to the St. John's for the artillery, munitions and men there awaiting...."⁷³ It was agreed that the *Pampero* would fetch them after disembarking in Cuba. Engine problems forced the steamer to stop for several hours, and the current pushed

them a great distance eastward. The compass malfunctioned due to its proximity to the boxes containing the muskets with iron barrels. Upon sighting land at ten o'clock in the morning, Captain Lewis was surprised to find his vessel at the entrance to Havana harbor. He immediately ordered stocking with anthracite coal, to avoid smoke that would give away their position, and headed westward toward Vuelta Abajo. In need of a harbor pilot, López had the schooner *Cecilia* boarded, and impressed Captain Felipe Torre and his sailor Luis Díaz.⁷⁴



The *Pampero* attempted landing at Morrillo, a small hamlet sixty miles west of Havana, just before midnight on the 11th, but ran aground in seven feet of water, about one mile from the shore.⁷⁵ When the first group led by Gotay reached the wharf, they were fired upon by a few custom house officials who then galloped away to sound the alarm. Boats and launches were sent back to the steamer, which refloated after alighting by four a.m. the men and supplies. The

Pampero, navigated by Captain Lewis and Callender Fayssoux, headed for Jacksonville with two sick expeditionaries and a letter from López to "Sánchez Yznaga [*sic*], Gonzales, Macias, and others," indicating his change of plans and ordering them to proceed at once with the auxiliary expedition to Puerto Príncipe in the center of the island.⁷⁶ It should be noted that Schlesinger does not mention Villaverde among the Cubans that would be returning on the *Pampero*, even though Portell Vilá claimed that López had named him in charge of that expedition.

Upon reaching land, López knelt, kissed the soil and exclaimed, "beloved Cuba." The frightened Spanish pilots were released with a pass given by López to present themselves before the local Lieutenant Governor of Mariel. As in Cárdenas, López was probably sending the official a message to surrender. The couriers gave a full account of events, estimating there were one thousand men, with two barrels of powder, a quintal of ammunition balls, two boxes of guns, two barrels of meat and biscuit for only one day. They described the filibusters as "both young men and old, and all without discipline," each armed with "a pair of six-shooting pistols, a dagger, and a gun...."⁷⁷ Schlesinger described their supplies as consisting of "four barrels of powder, two of cartridges, about 150 muskets, the flag of the Expedition, and the officers' luggage."⁷⁸ Since Morrillo was a hamlet of four houses, lacking transportation, López was persuaded by Pragay to split his force, proceed to the next village of Las Pozas, ten miles distant, to obtain carts and horses and send them back to Crittenden, who would remain at the beach with 120 men guarding the supplies.⁷⁹

The main force departed around nine o'clock in the morning and reached Las Pozas at noon. The village, located on a ridge, contained some fifty houses on both sides of the main road from Morrillo. It was deserted except for the Spanish owners of the two stores and some blacks.

López issued a liberating proclamation and sent back to Crittenden two or three ox carts with black drivers, accompanied by five to eight expeditionaries. One expeditionary account claims that halfway there, they were attacked by a group of locals who dispersed the guard and released the oxen. The squad was able to reach Crittenden while the drivers found other oxen and arrived with the carts at Morrillo at midnight.⁸⁰

Fifteen minutes after the carts departed, a peasant arrived from Bahía Honda with news that a division of Spanish troops had just arrived there from Havana by steamer. López then sent a courier to Crittenden with orders to abandon the heavy supplies and leave for Las Pozas immediately. Schlesinger stated that Crittenden got the message one hour before the carts arrived, and that these "could not have reached him later than eight o'clock" that evening. Crittenden then moved out about eleven o'clock.⁸¹

The next morning, 13 August, at eight o'clock, Crittenden had still not arrived at Las Pozas, when López was attacked by the Spanish army. The filibusters were surprised because the pickets had left their perimeter posts on the road to join their comrades for breakfast. The Cuban company led a counter charge that dislodged the enemy from the left ridge leading into town, resulting in the mortally wounding of their commander Ildefonso Oberto. The rest of the filibusters occupied the right ridge and drove back two enemy column charges up the road. Colonel Robert L. Downman led a pursuit charge, but few filibusters followed his lead. The fleeing Spaniards rallied when they saw him advancing virtually alone, and cut him down. The fight lasted about thirty-five minutes, before the Spaniards retreated. The 280 expeditionaries had up to thirty-five killed and seriously wounded, including the mortally wounded Pragay and Gotay, with another ten slightly wounded. The Spanish force of more than 800 left behind 180 dead.⁸²

In the neighboring woods, a Spanish sergeant and five soldiers were captured. As in Cárdenas, López harangued the prisoners, won them over, and attached them to the Cuban Company.⁸³

López sent five men to find Crittenden, but they returned about nine o'clock that evening saying that a numerous enemy force was blocking the road to Morrillo. An hour-and-a-half later, forty of Crittenden's force, led by Captain J. A. Kelly, arrived at Las Pozas. They informed that at eight o'clock that morning, halfway on the road to joining López, they were attacked by a Spanish force while having breakfast. The enemy was quickly repulsed and Crittenden chased them into the woods with eighty men, never to return. The others were unaware that Crittenden, unhappy with the turn of events, went back to Morrillo with fifty followers, seized four launches and headed back to the United States.⁸⁴ Schlesinger blamed the Crittenden desertion and general insubordination of the raw recruits for the ruin of the enterprise.⁸⁵ Crittenden and his men were later captured by a Spanish warship, taken to Havana, and summarily executed.⁸⁶

López held a war council and decided to no longer wait for Crittenden, due to the proximity of the enemy, and instead strike into the countryside, where he "believed it would not be long before they would unite with insurgent parties of the Cubans...."⁸⁷ During the march inland under the tropical sun, some fifty filibusters threw away their muskets, while others shed their blankets and jackets. On the evening of the 14th, on a mountain top near San Diego de Nuñez, they encountered two Havana youths, Julio Esteban Chassagne and José Federico Herrén, who had come to join them.⁸⁸ Chassagne, a silversmith born in Vuelta Abajo, informed that the uprisings in Puerto Príncipe and Trinidad had been crushed before the *Pampero* landing and that five thousand troops had been deployed against the invaders. The youths said they belonged to a conspiratorial group in Havana that had agreed to join López, but only they had appeared at

the rendezvous point.⁸⁹

In spite of these overwhelming odds, López remained optimistic, expecting the arrival of the reinforcement expeditions from the United States. The *Pampero* had returned to Key West on the 13th, picked up twenty-five expeditionaries, and reached Jacksonville a few days later.⁹⁰ The *New York Journal of Commerce* reported on the 18th that an army officer just arrived from Florida stated that "a number of men were congregated at the mouth of the St. John's river, awaiting the arrival of a steamer to convey them to Cuba; a large party had also gone up the Santilla [sic] in a steamer, where they received on board six pieces of artillery and some further reinforcements."⁹¹ This is the armament that Gonzales had hidden on the Woodbine Plantation, and we can assume that he was back in the area after convalescing from malaria in Warrenton, Virginia. Apparently, two different expeditionary groups were forming, possibly due to personal animosities. Portell Vilá claimed that Colonel Theodore O'Hara, who led the Kentucky Regiment at Cárdenas, had appeared at the Titus sawmill on 28 July, and "did not hide his resentment" at being excluded from the expedition.⁹² The Cubans in Jacksonville and Savannah were also upset after Sánchez Iznaga arrived on 10 August with news from Sigur in New Orleans that López was going directly to Cuba without stopping for them at Jacksonville. When Gonzales arrived the division was apparent, as he indicated that "Without interfering with that movement already in the hands of others, I at once proceeded to raise the promised reinforcement."⁹³

Another rejected Cárdenas veteran wanting a piece of the action was N. J. Bunch, the mutinous leader of the Mississippi regiment, who wrote to Quitman from Jackson, asking to go to Cuba in a reinforcement expedition. He had been informed by someone from New Orleans that the *Pampero* had just returned and was being fitted with the *Alabama* to return to Cuba with two

regiments, one commanded by John T. Pickett. Bunch complained that all of the former Cárdenas officers on the *Pampero* had been promoted, including Crittenden, who was made a colonel. Bunch requested that Quitman write to the New Orleans Junta on his behalf, to give him no less than his former rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and that General Felix Huston would do much in this regard. He claimed to be raising a small captain's company, "to be equipped by the citizens of Jackson," expecting to be in New Orleans within two weeks.⁹⁴

While Pickett, Hawkins and the Kentucky regiment awaited in New Orleans for transport to Cuba, a steamer was offered for sale to the Cuba Committee. Schlesinger later speculated that either a lack of funds or "hesitation, and want of energy and promptness" frustrated this effort, which could have been capable of liberating Cuba.⁹⁵ In Savannah, Villaverde was "dominated by despair and impotence," and could think of nothing better to do than to write a letter to New York Junta member Manuel Rodríguez de Mena, imploring for two or three thousand dollars to charter another expedition to Cuba.⁹⁶

Back in the island, López had reached the Cafetal de Frías coffee estate of his brother-in-law at noon on the 17th. While the 250 filibusters prepared lunch, Spanish General Manuel Enna approached with a force of 1,200 infantry, 120 cavalry and four howitzers. Instead of sending the infantry first, as was done at Las Pozas, Enna led a cavalry charge in two columns, but soon fell mortally wounded. His cavalry retreated through the ranks of the infantry, and the whole force went into a rout. López attempted a pursuit, but few of his troops followed.⁹⁷ The expeditionary force continued their march the next day arriving at the Candelaria coffee estate, where the enemy attacked them at daybreak on the 19th. The expeditionaries, "with a trifling number of effective rifles," fled into the woods and dispersed. López managed to regroup a large number

and lead them up a mountain, where they were exposed to a tropical storm. According to Schlesinger, they wandered about that day and the next, "Exhausted by hunger, cold, wet, want of sleep, and for most of us loss of hope...."⁹⁸ The filibusters had been in Cuba for over a week, and only López and a few others still retained hope of a reinforcement expedition from the United States.

The *Pampero* landing was announced in the American newspapers on 20 August.⁹⁹ That same day, Laurent Sigur arrived in Savannah, and the next day went to a party at the home of City Marshal Daniel H. Stewart, where the liberty of Cuba was toasted with champagne.¹⁰⁰ Sigur then went to Charleston, South Carolina, to try and obtain a steamer for the reinforcement expedition. Gonzales apparently went with him, because on Sunday the 24th he wrote a letter to the editor of the Charleston *Mercury*, while in that city, rebutting an editorial that appeared the previous day. The newspaper had quoted the recently deceased John Calhoun's opposition to the acquisition of all of Mexico, and by way of inference applied it to Cuba. Gonzales objected to seeing "the great name of the South Carolina Statesman thrown into our adverse scale," and pointed out that when he and General López arrived in Washington, D.C. in 1849, Calhoun had paid them a visit and "expressed himself as warmly in behalf of Cuba and her annexation...." According to Gonzales, the sectional issue was then revived in Congress with the debate over the admission of California, forcing Calhoun to procrastinate on Cuban annexation. Gonzales said that if Calhoun were alive, after California became a free state, he would be striving for Cuban annexation to obtain "that 'equilibrium' with which alone can this Union be preserved, through the Union of the South."¹⁰¹

This letter seems to be an appeal by Gonzales to the South Carolinians to rally to the

cause of Cuban annexation, as Calhoun would have done, at a time when it was desperately needed. Gonzales departed on the 25th for Columbia,¹⁰² the state capital, trying to muster an auxiliary expedition, but was back in Charleston when he received the news that López and most of his followers had been captured.¹⁰³ López was taken prisoner on the 29th and sent to Havana, where on 1 September he was put to death on the *garrote* set up in the public plaza. His last words were: "My fate will not change thy destinies; adieu, dear Cuba." The executioner was a black convict, whose death sentence had been commuted to life in prison in exchange for his frequent performance of the grisly act.¹⁰⁴



The execution of Narciso López

The death of López ended immediate plans for further expeditions. While the *Pampero*

was being refitted in Savannah, crewman Emilin T. Randolph approached the Spanish Consul in Charleston and offered to destroy the vessel if a considerable sum was provided. The Consul wrote to Minister Calderón on 3 September 1851 for instructions.¹⁰⁵ A telegraphed reply a week later disapproved the plan.¹⁰⁶ President Millard Fillmore had just given an order to seize the steamer.¹⁰⁷

During this time, Quitman withdrew his candidacy for governor of Mississippi, leading many to believe that he was about to take an expedition to Cuba.¹⁰⁸ He received a handful of letters from former officers of the Mexican War, one as far away as Michigan, volunteering to go with him to liberate Cuba.¹⁰⁹ A former colonel from Tallahassee, Florida, offered to raise a regiment in his state to avenge "The spirits of the slaughtered Patriots," and help establish "the Republic of the Antilles with Quitman as its President."¹¹⁰ C.G.F. Bell, using cryptic symbols to identify himself as a Master Mason to Quitman, informed him that during his recent travels through the South, he found "thousands" of men favoring the Cuban Revolution if Quitman would lead them, and that twenty-five thousand could be mustered in four months.¹¹¹ Quitman, who was not as easily swayed as López with grandiose promises, decided to wait for a more opportune moment, when the Whigs would not be in power.

Meanwhile, President Fillmore issued an arrest warrant against Gonzales in connection with the *Pampero* expedition. The Cuban went underground until November, when he surrendered to federal authorities in Savannah.¹¹² He was subjected to a lengthy deposition in federal court, but formal charges were never pressed after he proved he had been convalescing in Warrenton, Virginia.

Gonzales was devastated by the execution of López and the swiftness with which the

internal revolts had been crushed. Insurrections had occurred in Cuba for the first time, but they were so isolated and the government had suppressed the news so effectively from spreading, that the authorities quickly had control of the situation. Once again, fate had been favorable to Gonzales. His illness had prevented his being with López when the *Pampero* sailed, and a change of plans by López at the last moment had left Gonzales stranded in the United States. The expedition could have achieved a greater chance of success if López had not been so impatient. His uncontrollable impetus, as Madán had warned Quitman, wrecked the enterprise and cost him his life. The future had never looked so bleak for Gonzales, now that López was gone.

NOTES

1. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López, III*, 222-224.
2. *Ibid.*, 222.
3. "Cuban Anniversary," *Bee*, 19 May 1851, 1.
4. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López, III*, 225-226.
5. *Ibid.*, 446.
6. *Ibid.*, 451, 455.
7. "Later from Texas," *Picayune*, 17 June 1851, 2; and "For Galveston," *Evening Picayune*, 25 June 1851, 1.
8. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López, III*, 455. Portell Vilá was not aware of the departure notice of the steamer *Pampero* in the *Evening Picayune* of 25 June 1851. Citing the *Picayune* of 7 September 1851, which placed the arrival of the ship in New Orleans on 29 July, Portell Vilá wrongly assumed the *Pampero* had remained in Louisiana since June, with the "connivance of the New Orleans customs agents." *Ibid.*
9. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López, III*, 232-233.
10. *Ibid.*, 454.
11. Camden County Historical Commission, *Camden County, Georgia* (Candem, Ga.: n.p., 1992), 7.
12. Gonzales, "The Cuban Crusade."
13. Huxford, *Pioneers of Wiregrass Georgia*, Vol. V, 118. Collector John Hardee Dilworth died on 16 June 1853 and was interred in Oak Grove Cemetery in St. Marys, Georgia.
14. James Henry Rice, Jr., *Cheeha-Combahee*, typed manuscript, 1932, 4, claimed that Gonzales was at Oak Lawn after his arrest order was issued in April 1851. The Rice data is garbled, as he mistakenly states that Ambrosio Gonzales was wounded in the López insurrection of 1853, and that he married Harriette [sic], Elliott's daughter by a second marriage. Rice, a transplanted Northerner described as a "literary gadfly," was on the staff of the Columbia newspaper *The State* from the 1890s to 1935, becoming a close friend of the Gonzales sons and their neighbor on his Cheeha Creek plantation. Lewis Pinckney Jones, *Stormy Petrel: N. G. Gonzales and His State* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1973), 271-272.
15. Jones, *Stormy Petrel*, 8.
16. Beverly Scafield, "The Letters of William Elliott," Ph.D. dissertation, Department of English, University of South Carolina, 1978, 633-639.
17. *150 Years of Orange Lodge, No. 14* (Charleston, S.C.: n.p., 1939), 64.
18. Describing a rough stagecoach trip to the mountains, which other companions discontinued, Elliott told his wife, "You know I never turn back--so I shall proceed bearing the discomforts and annoyances as well as I may." William Elliott to Ann Elliott, 18 August 1851, EGP.

19. Mrs. Mary W. Wayne to Mrs. Elliott, 18 August 1852, EGP.
20. *Picayune*, 13 May 1851, 2.
21. Jones, *Stormy Petrel*, 6.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, III, 228-229.
24. Gonzales, "The Cuban Crusade."
25. "Cuba Rumors," *Evening Picayune*, 19 July 1851, 1.
26. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, III, 458-461.
27. Jorge Juárez Cano, *Hombres del 51* (Havana: Imprenta "El Siglo XX," 1930), 30.
28. *Ibid.*, 7, 58.
29. "Further Cuban News," *Evening Picayune*, 18 August 1851, 1; and "From Our Correspondent," *Evening Picayune*, 21 August 1851, 1.
30. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, III, 465.
31. "Affairs in Cuba," *Evening Picayune*, 14 July 1851, 1.
32. Portell Vila, *Narciso Lopez*, III, 482.
33. *Ibid.*
34. "Great News from Cuba," *Evening Picayune*, 22 July 1851, 1.
35. Korn, *The Early Jews of New Orleans*, 189-190. Myer M. Cohen was tried and acquitted in 1873 of participating in an assassination attempt against Louisiana Reconstruction Governor William P. Kellogg.
36. "Cuban Liberty," *Delta*, 24 July 1851, 2; and "The Cuban Meeting," *Picayune*, 24 July 1851, 2.
37. Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," 212.
38. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, III, 483.
39. *Ibid.*, 482.
40. Gonzales, "The Cuban Crusade."
41. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, III, 483.
42. "The Cuban Revolution," *Picayune*, 26 July 1851, 1, 2.
43. "Slaves! Siaves!" advertisement, *Delta*, 25 July 1851, 3.

44. "The Cuban Meeting Last Night," *Picayune*, 27 July 1851, 2; and *New Orleans Directory*, 1851.
45. "The Cuban Meeting Last Night," *Picayune*, 27 July 1851, 2.
46. "Cuban Committee," *Picayune*, 29 July 1851, 2; "Notice," *Delta*, 2 August 1851, 2; and *New Orleans Directory*, 1851.
47. "The Gardiner Claim--The Alleged Fraud on the Government," *Delta*, 17 July 1851, 1; and "The Gardiner Fraud Case," *Evening Picayune*, 28 July 1851, 1.
48. "Sentence, Suicide and Burial of Dr. Gardiner," *New York Times*, 6 March 1854, 5; and "The Gardiner Case: Historical Outline of the Whole Affair," *New York Times*, 7 March 1854, 1.
49. "Cuba Recruits," *Evening Picayune*, 26 July 1851, 1.
50. Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," 212, 215; and "The Cuba Invaders," *Evening Picayune*, 25 July 1851, 1.
51. Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," 212.
52. "The Revolution in Cuba!," *Evening Picayune*, 31 July 1851, 1.
53. Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," 213. The Schlesinger account gave the erroneous date of Saturday, 1 August, when the first day of the month was actually a Friday.
54. "Cuban Meeting," *Delta*, 3 August 1851, 2.
55. Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," 568.
56. Gonzales, "On to Cuba."
57. *Ibid.*
58. Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," 568-569.
59. *Picayune*, 9 August 1851, 2.
60. H. M. Hardiman, *The Free Flag of Cuba: or the Martyrdom of Lopez. A Tale of the Liberating Expedition of 1851*.
61. John B. Edmunds, Jr., *Francis W. Pickens and the Politics of Destruction* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 137; and Emily Bull, "Lucy Pickens, Queen of the South Carolina Confederacy," *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association*, 1982, 3-4.
62. "Expedición del General Narciso López," *Boletín de los Archivos de la República de Cuba*, January/February 1904, 13; and Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," September 1852, 214.
63. Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," 214-215; and "Steamship Pampero," *Picayune*, 9 August 1851, 2.
64. "Steamship Pampero," *Picayune*, 9 August 1851, 2.
65. Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," 214.

66. "Expedición del General Narciso López," January/February 1904, 14.
67. "The Beginning," *Delta*, 3 August 1851, 1.
68. "Affairs of Cuba," *Picayune*, 5 August 1851, 2.
69. "Calumny and Hypocrisy," *Picayune*, 5 October 1851, 2.
70. Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," September 1852, 217.
71. *Ibid.*, 217-218; and "Expedición del General Narciso López," January/February 1906, 16.
72. "The Cuban Expedition: A New History of the Cuban Invasion," *New York Times*, 23 September 1851, 3.
73. Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," 219.
74. "Spanish Official Documents," *Picayune*, 22 August 1851, 2; "The Cuban Expedition," 3; and Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," 220.
75. Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," 222; and "The Cuban Expedition," 3.
76. Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," 223; and *Ibid.*, 354.
77. "Spanish Official Documents," *Picayune*, 22 August 1851, 2.
78. Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," September 1852, 224.
79. *Ibid.*; and "Expedición del General Narciso López," January/February 1904, 17.
80. Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," October 1852, 353-354; and "Expedición del General Narciso López," January/February 1904, 17. Both of these accounts vary slightly as to the number of carts and expeditionaries sent back to Crittenden.
81. Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," 355-356.
82. *Ibid.*, 357-358.
83. *Ibid.*, 362.
84. "Expedición del General Narciso López," *Boletín de los Archivos de la República de Cuba*, March/April 1904, 13-14; and Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," 363.
85. Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," 366-367.
86. "Fifty-One Americans Captured and Butchered in Cold Blood!," *Evening Picayune*, 21 August 1851, 1.
87. Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," 558.
88. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, III, 617. Portell Vilá cites the Julio Chassagne diary, which he had acquired with the Villaverde Papers.

89. Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," 559.
90. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, III, 655.
91. "Another Expedition," *Evening Picayune*, 27 August 1851, 1.
92. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, III, 656.
93. Gonzales, *Manifesto*, 10.
94. N. J. Bunch to John A. Quitman, 18 August 1851, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
95. Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," 569.
96. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, III, 656-657.
97. Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," 561; and "Expedición del General Narciso López," March/April 1904, 18-19.
98. Schlesinger, "Personal Narrative," 566.
99. "Landing of Gen. Lopez," *Evening Picayune*, 20 August 1851, 1.
100. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, III, 658.
101. "Cuban Affairs," *Charleston Mercury*, 25 August 1851, 2.
102. *Charleston Courier*, 25 August 1851, 2; and "Letter from Gen. Gonzales," *Evening Picayune*, 30 August 1851, 1.
103. Gonzales, *Manifesto on Cuban Affairs*, 10-11.
104. Julia W. Howe, *A Trip to Cuba* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860). Howe is best known for writing two years later the "Battle Hymn of the Republic."
105. Charleston Spanish Consulate Papers, *Copiador General, 1841-1860*, 3 September 1851.
106. *Ibid.*, 11 September 1851.
107. "Orders by the President to Intercept Patriot Steamers," *Evening Picayune* 11 September 1851, 1.
108. W. D. Roy to John A. Quitman, 10 September 1851, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA; and A. H. Bailey to John A. Quitman, 24 September 1851, *Ibid.*
109. Thomas M. Ward to John A. Quitman, 23 September 1851, *Ibid.*
110. N. G. Moseley to John A. Quitman, 10 September 1851, *Ibid.*
111. C.G.F. Bell to John A. Quitman, 27 October 1851, *Ibid.*
112. "Surrender of Gonzalez," *The Daily Delta*, 18 November 1851, 1.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PATRONAGE PURSUER

The execution of López did not dissuade Cuban separatists from continuing their struggle on the island and in exile. Juan Bellido de Luna edited the clandestine bulletin *La Voz del Pueblo Cubano*, subtitled "Organ of Independence," which appeared on 13 June 1852. It was financed by New York Cuban Junta members Anacleto Bermudez and Porfirio Valiente to promote a conspiracy in the Vuelta Abajo region, where López had been captured. Printer Eduardo Facciolo published two more issues on the 4th and 26th of July, before he was arrested in August, and garroted the following month.¹

Spanish diplomats in the United States also continued spying on the separatists after the demise of López. *Pampero* crewman Emilin T. Randolph, who the previous year had proposed the destruction of the vessel to the Spanish Consul in Charleston, returned with another offer on 13 August 1852. He purported to know where *La Voz del Pueblo Cubano* was being printed in the United States, the ship and method by which it was being smuggled into Cuba, and the person to whom it was destined in the island.² Randolph wrote to the Consul four days later from New York asking for money. In the meantime, Minister Calderón had authorized a \$600 payment for the information, but the Consul wrote to Randolph on 23 August that not one cent would be advanced until the details proved to be true.

Another revolutionary publication, *La Verdad*, experienced administrative changes that summer. Domingo de Goicouría, recently escaped from Spain, joined Gaspar Betancourt and Manuel de Jesús Arango on the editorial board. In July they appointed Cirilo Villaverde to replace Miguel Teurbe Tolón as editor. Since Jane Cazneau had been neglecting her work on the

English-language summary page, the position was offered to John L. O'Sullivan, who rejected it because it would impede campaigning for Senator Stephen Douglas, the presidential candidate of Young America expansionists. On 23 August Villaverde made the same proposition to Gonzales, then living in Washington who, for reasons not yet clear, apparently turned it down.³ Due to these and other problems, *La Verdad* folded sixteen months later.

On the first anniversary of the López execution, Gonzales, in the summer resort of Fauquier White Sulphur Springs, in Warrenton, Virginia, wrote the pamphlet *Manifesto on Cuban Affairs Addressed to the People of the United States*. Copies were sent to political sympathizers, including Caleb Cushing.⁴ The manifesto was written to correct misled American public opinion as to the causes of the Cuban rebellion, as to the noble character of the Cuban movement in the United States, and to "unfold, in self-vindication, the double-dealing arts of our detractors."⁵ The author indicated that the question of the independence of Cuba deserved the special consideration of the American people, as the island's "close proximity, controlling position, domestic institutions [euphemism for slavery] and commercial wants, bring home to the safety, the peace, the welfare and development of America, all incidents likely to bear upon her future."⁶

Gonzales outlined the grievances by which the Cubans, "groaning under oppression a thousand times more galling" than those of the thirteen colonies of North America, were seeking the aid of "a neighboring republican people." Cuba's white population paid a tax of nearly \$40 each, while the Spaniards paid an average of \$9, and the Americans \$2.39. Gonzales listed a number of highly taxable commodities, such as foodstuff, salt, agricultural exports, all property, including slaves, and even stamp paper, required for all legal documents. These taxes were not being used by the Spanish Crown for the benefit of the Cuban people. Only one child in every

eighteen was in school, due mostly to private exertions, and since 1849 the Spanish government had prohibited its citizens from studying in the United States. The Cuban Captain General, "a mere soldier," was an autocrat who even presided over the Supreme Court of Justice. He highly benefitted from the "horrid traffic" of slavery, along with the Queen Mother, by a special importation fee of \$51 per head. Cubans had no political representation in the Spanish Cortes and they were "deprived of all liberty of conscience, of speech, or of the press."⁷ Cubans could not own firearms, assemble in public, nor have a trial by jury. They needed a permit to have company at home, to change domicile, to leave town or to travel abroad. The judicial *habeas corpus* did not exist, and Cubans could be incarcerated for months due to secret denunciation. All public offices were controlled by Spaniards, except "a few of the lowest order." There was a glut in the medical and law profession, the latter "under the pervading influence of a corrupt system." The manifesto denounced the fact that "Cubans of high intelligence and education, every avenue of distinction and emolument being closed to them, are constrained to discharge the duty of overseers to planters, machinists, &c., in order to earn a livelihood."⁸ Gonzales criticized the Cuban colonial government, which had sentenced him to death for publishing a political document in American newspapers, as "A hideous compound of base rapacity, wanton insult, and dire oppression."⁹

The manifesto compared the favorable conditions of the American Revolution and the unfavorable insurrectional situation in the island, in answering those who questioned the lack of success by the Cubans. While the American colonists were surrounded by the wilderness of a vast continent, the island of Cuba offered no possibility of retreat. The Minutemen evolved from a militia, possessed firearms and knew how to use them, while Cubans lacked military experience

and were prohibited weapons. The American colonists "met, discussed, and resolved, printed and spoke and went about freely and unshackled," but the same liberties were denied to the Cubans, whose movements were constantly watched. Gonzales pointed out that the American revolutionaries "had on their side the fleets and armies of France, the chivalry of Europe, the financial aid of Spain, and the moral countenance of all nations. We have against us not only Spain, but that very France and England, and the menace of the blacks, the squadrons of the United States, and the denunciation of the republican government as pirates and freebooters, to draw from our feet our only plank of support, with the world against us; the moral aid of this free country."¹⁰

The manifesto had a strong impact, even on his enemies. Spanish Minister Calderón sent a letter of protest to the Acting Secretary of State, Charles M. Conrad, on 30 September 1852, denouncing the activities of the emigres, and especially,

A Creole, without any known profession or respectability, a native of Matanzas, named *José Ambrosio Gonzalez* [sic], has published what he calls a manifesto to the American people, in which he dares to make insidious insinuations, and to cast censure, upon the conduct of the enlightened and upright Chief Magistrate of the Republic. It is not difficult to perceive, that another pen, more able than his own, has indited that slanderous document.¹¹

The Cuban annexationists decided to form a new organization on the eve of the 1852 presidential election. The Democratic Party campaign, especially in the South, had constantly mentioned the acquisition of Cuba.¹² Gonzales worked "earnestly and diligently" wherever he could exert his "little influence" toward the Democratic campaign, prompted by his "democratic faith" and the favorable results it would have toward the welfare of Cuba.¹³ Some three hundred Cuban emigres, including Gonzales and a large number of American sympathizers, gathered in New York City at 600 Broadway on Monday evening, 11 October.¹⁴ The meeting was presided

by José Elías Hernández, who told the crowd that they had gathered to vote for an emigre representative who would be part of a five-man supreme Cuban Revolutionary Liberation Junta that included four others already elected by the revolutionary Clubs on the island. Requirements for voting included being over the age of twenty-one and having taken up arms or shed their blood for Cuban independence; foreigners who had served their cause could vote, but proxy voting was prohibited. A number of qualified people abstained from voting and the results were: José Elías Hernández, 51 votes; José Sánchez Iznaga, 23; Ambrosio José Gonzales, 13; and Antonio González, 1. The election was certified and Hernández appointed representative. Hernández and Sánchez Iznaga probably received a higher number of votes than Gonzales because they had resided longer among the New York emigre community.

There followed a number of patriotic speeches by Millán, Francisco de Armas, Francisco Pérez, Cirilo Villaverde, Miguel Teurbe Tolón, Domingo de Goicouría, Manuel de J. Arango, Porfirio Valiente, Juan Bellido de Luna, John L. O'Sullivan and others, until one o'clock in the morning. When the meeting ended, the Cuban flag that adorned the hall was draped over Hernández's shoulders and a large procession followed him to his residence at 1 Mark's Place, where he was further serenaded. Eight days later, the New York Cuban exiles held a public meeting in the Apollo Rooms to inaugurate the Cuban Revolutionary Liberation Junta. They sent copies of their manifesto to the press, signed by Betancourt Cisneros, President; Manuel de J. Arango, Vice-President; Porfirio Valiente, Secretary; José Elías Hernández, Vice-Secretary; Domingo de Goicouría, Treasurer.¹⁵

The following month, the presidential electoral victory of Democrat Franklin Pierce, the candidate of Young America after Douglass failed to receive the nomination, gave Cuban

annexationists renewed hope and worried the Spanish government. In December, Minister Calderón notified his Consulate spy network to be on the lookout for the filibuster leadership, which seemed to have gone underground. The Spanish Consul in Charleston replied on 22 December, "With regard to Macías, Yznaga, Gonzalez and company I have not been able to find out anything yet, but I will continue my inquiries with determination..."¹⁶

Gonzales was in New Orleans by Christmas Day, staying with his friend haberdasher J.O. Nixon. He wrote to Southern politicians influential with Pierce, asking to recommend him for "an independent and influential post" that would be advantageous to the party and the Cuban annexation cause, especially in a diplomatic position. Gonzales felt suited for such a job, saying that he was conversant in English, Spanish, French, Italian, could translate Portuguese, knew some German, had studied law and possessed a classical education. He believed his appointment would be "pleasing to both branches of the democratic party, the progressive and the conservative, besides a large number of pro-Cuba men not affiliated with any party but would be more especially so to my numerous friends in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida & Louisiana...." Gonzales indicated that his appointment "would have a significance to Spain which to some extent would tell to advantage in her future course concerning Cuba." He indicated, "My character, I trust, is sufficiently well established in the country to require any remark of my own. Genl. Pierce will, I believe, know me well upon that score."¹⁷

A month after reaching New Orleans, Gonzales wrote Quitman that he had been anxiously expecting his arrival there, and not knowing when it would occur, he was instead writing "to give you some idea of my situation, my fears and my hopes." He enclosed a copy of his letter requesting a diplomatic post and asked Quitman to help him obtain the position directly and

through his friends Jefferson Davis, J.F.H. Claiborne, Emil La Sere and "any other person likely to have an influence with Genl. Pierce."¹⁸ Gonzales feared that recent dissension among the Democrats had considerably weakened their belligerent position and that sufficient means could not be raised either in Cuba or the United States since "A great majority of the people here & there believe now more strongly than before in the possibility or practicability of acquiring the island by purchase." He thought it might take two years to undeceive these people, but hoped to be proven wrong, especially by "some unexpected favorable incident" that would allow "asserting our own independence by force of arms." The Cuban described himself as "a man of action and not of words," who would not limit himself like other exiles to merely conspire by correspondence with dissatisfied elements in the island. He told Quitman that whenever the opportunity arose to strike for the redemption of Cuba, no matter what his occupation, he would serve under his orders "upon the same principle that Genl. Lopez acted in our joint proposition to you of 1850." Gonzales wanted the Pierce diplomatic post to further the cause of Cuban independence, as he stressed to Quitman, "Any consideration which I may acquire in the meantime, will but render it more in my power to aid you in such a work."¹⁹

Gonzales informed Quitman that he could probably "raise under favorable circumstances in South Carolina, Georgia, Florida & East Tennessee a force of from 2 to 3,000 men, to operate in concert with another from the Southwest." His role would also be "as a Cuban that I am, for the Cuban element being properly represented in any movement civil or military affecting the destinies of my country, not only as a matter of just & natural pride but of sound and correct policy." Gonzales reiterated his "unlimited confidence" in Quitman "as a man, a soldier and a republican."²⁰

Quitman traveled to New Orleans in February 1853 and met with Gonzales, Henderson and other conspirators, including William Scote Haynes, but requested conferring with other Cuban leaders before making a final decision. Haynes immediately wrote to plotters in New York that they would soon hear from Quitman. He requested that Gaspar Betancourt or Domingo de Goicouria travel South to meet Quitman, or the general could meet them during his scheduled trip to New York in mid-March.²¹

In his inaugural address on 4 March, Pierce claimed his administration's policy would not be "controlled by any timid forebodings of evil from expansion," marking a stark contrast with former Whig practice. In apparent reference to Cuba, the new president stated that the undisguised attitude of the nation was "the acquisition of certain possessions not within our jurisdiction, eminently important for our protection..." Pierce seemed to be thinking of reviving the Polk Administration policy of purchasing Cuba and discouraging filibuster attempts when he added that "Should they be obtained, it will be through no grasping spirit... We have nothing in our history or position to invite aggression--we have everything to beckon us to the cultivation of peace and amity with all nations. Purposes, therefore, at once just and pacific, will be significantly marked in the conduct of our foreign affairs." There was an obvious warning against future filibusters in the president's message,

...no act within the legitimate scope of my constitutional control will be tolerated on the part of any portion of our citizens, which cannot challenge a ready justification before the tribunal of the civilized world...

The great object of our pursuit as a people are best to be attained by peace, and are entirely consistent with the tranquility and interest of the rest of mankind. With the neighboring nations upon our continent we should cultivate kindly and fraternal relations.²²

Pierce said that the rights of Americans abroad who were "in legitimate pursuits" would be protected, and in that connection reaffirmed as "utterly inadmissible" any violation of the Monroe

Doctrine. At the same time, he claimed that "the maintenance of large standing armies in our country would not only be dangerous but unnecessary."²³ Pierce was adopting a compromise position on acquiring Cuba which would please the various factions of his new seven-member cabinet. He tried to conciliate the "barnburners" who had bolted to the Free Soil Party in 1848 and the "southern rights" fire-eaters; the "old foggy" faction and the expansionist "Young America" advocates.

Top cabinet posts went to William L. Marcy, Secretary of State; Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War; and Caleb Cushing, Attorney General. Gonzales had already amply discussed the topic of Cuban annexation with Davis and Cushing. The three cabinet members favored territorial expansion, but strongly disagreed on other matters. Marcy detested the southern "fire-eaters" and the Young America radicals, who regarded him as the worst of the "old fogies."²⁴ Davis had become the leading exponent of Southern rights after the death of Calhoun. Cushing, a Whig renegade, had a reputation for being unstable, unreliable, inconsistent, void of political judgment and lacking a sense of humor.²⁵ The cabinet also had divided views on the prickly issue of slavery. Marcy and Cushing favored popular sovereignty while Davis became the sentinel of the institution.

The Pierce Administration spent three months selecting candidates for more than seven hundred appointive government posts from thousands of applicants.²⁶ Marcy was badgered by job seekers at his room in the Willard Hotel.²⁷ Gonzales was among those seeking a diplomatic post, and went to see him with a letter of introduction from A. G. Pent, dated in Washington on 24 March 1853. He also had written recommendations from Senator John Slidell and other distinguished Louisianans, who described him as "not only a Gentleman of great intelligence and

individualism, but one who is entitled to the Strong Sympathies of our friends."²⁸

Among those receiving important foreign posts in the Pierce Administration were Young America adherents. Louisiana Senator Pierre Soulé, a French republican refugee, became Minister to Spain; John L. O'Sullivan, twice indicted for filibuster activities, was appointed Minister to Portugal; and German-born Wall Street banker August Belmont was sent to The Hague. Soulé "personally and strenuously recommended" Gonzales as Secretary of Legation to France when General John Adams Dix, the U.S. Assistant Treasurer in New York, was being considered as Minister.²⁹ The Dix appointment was postponed until after the summer elections in the South because of strong opposition from that area. O'Sullivan, who had been a "barnburner" with Dix, tried to discourage him from accepting the overseas post.

O'Sullivan visited Dix that summer, but found his office closed to all except those on official business. He immediately penned a lengthy letter explaining why Dix should not go to Paris. O'Sullivan argued that the New York "barnburners" would then lose out on the Custom House patronage not yet distributed. O'Sullivan added that Wisconsin Democratic Senator Isaac P. Walker believed that Dix's nomination as Minister to France would never be approved in Congress by his Whig and Democrat political opponents, and that Barnburner leader Samuel J. Tilden thought he should decline the "merely ornamental" mission to secure the claims of their followers.³⁰ O'Sullivan was advocating a policy prejudicial to his former filibuster co-conspirator, as Gonzales had been kept on hold while all other patronage slots were being filled. O'Sullivan also differed with Gonzales regarding Cuba: while Gonzales favored a liberating expedition led by Quitman, O'Sullivan had just started promoting the acquisition of the island through purchase.

The first week of August, Gonzales and Soulé traveled from Washington to New York, where Soulé introduced the Cuban to General Dix.³¹ Unfortunately for Gonzales, his destiny was being tied to that of an unpopular political heretic, who had left the Democrats in 1848 to unsuccessfully run as Free Soil candidate for Governor of New York. Prior to Soulé departing for Spain, he was serenaded by the Cuban exiles in New York.³²

Two weeks later, Pierce wrote Dix for an interview to discuss the pending mission to France.³³ The Assistant Treasurer instead sent O'Sullivan as his representative, claiming that his official duties did not give him the time to visit Washington. When Pierce ended their long interview on 3 September, he gave O'Sullivan a letter for Dix saying that if he could not see him personally, the bearer would provide the details of their recent discussion.³⁴ O'Sullivan went to see Dix three days later to communicate that the President thought it more advantageous for the government to appoint someone else to the mission to France. Dix immediately responded that he had never aspired to the position, that Pierce was free to choose anyone else, and repeated his previous request to be relieved as Assistant Treasurer as soon as possible.³⁵ Consequently Gonzales was left without the overseas post, resulting in his having more time to dedicate to Cuban conspiratorial activities in the United States.

The election of Pierce prompted in early 1853 the creation of secret societies in various Cuban towns for collecting funds to finance the next invasion.³⁶ Separatist conspirators erroneously interpreted the Pierce inaugural address as an approval of their activities. After Quitman met with Cuban exile leaders in New York in late March, recruitment efforts for another expedition commenced in the South. One of the enlistees in Savannah was Irish immigrant H. Brady, who went to see the Spanish Consul in Charleston on 11 April and stated:

I was solicited to join an expedition to invade the Island of Cuba, the Agent is at Savannah. He says they expect to have some eight thousand infantry together with Cavalry, that they will embark at Arkansas & New Orleans, and will be complete in six weeks. They intend to make three landings I believe two real ones, the third will be a pretext to take the attention of your troops.³⁷

The Consul told Brady to report if he saw any filibuster recruiter in Charleston and then passed the information to the Captain General in Cuba and the Spanish Minister in Washington. He then asked the French Consul in Charleston to notify his agent in Savannah to investigate the matter and report back, since the Spanish exequatur did not apply to Savannah.

That summer, Quitman was staying in the Astor House in New York, appraising the possibilities of a Cuba invasion, when he received a 12 July letter from Louis Schlesinger, second-in-command of the *Pampero* expedition, recently released from a Spanish prison, who volunteered to serve on his general staff and offered to find "200 or 300 able old European soldiers and officers willing to the enterprise."³⁸ The following month, Quitman went to Philadelphia and urgently sought an interview on 11 August with Mexican War General George Cadwalader.³⁹ He apparently tried to recruit him for the Cuba invasion. Cadwalader sympathized with the cause and had spoken for Cuban independence at a Philadelphia rally two years earlier. Quitman then stopped in Washington, D.C., before returning to New York, where on the 18th he was cheered by a large demonstration organized by the Cuban Junta.⁴⁰ That same day, Kentucky filibuster John Pickett arrived in Washington, D.C., with John Sidney Thrasher, the former Havana Club conspirator. Pickett wrote to Quitman of his trip to Kentucky, where he found unabated support for the Cuban cause. Theodore O'Hara asked Pickett to let Quitman know of his zeal and anxiety to wage war for "a cause in which we have all hitherto suffered so much." Pickett told Quitman that he and Thrasher were going to visit him in New York hoping "to learn something definite & cheering."⁴¹ Quitman also met in New York with filibuster

officers Louis Schlesinger and Chatham Roberdeau Wheat, accompanied by his brother John Wheat, before returning to Natchez in late August, without making a deal with the Cuban Revolutionary Liberation Junta.

The Cuban exiles in New York commemorated the execution of López and the *Pampero* martyrs on 2 September, and among those participating in the public act were Gonzales, Betancourt and Goicouría. Two weeks later, Goicouría went to Newport, Rhode Island, searching for General George Cadwalader, to give him a list of things Quitman wanted and a letter of introduction from his brother John Cadwalader, who expressed his sympathy for the Cuban revolutionaries and admitted being a filibuster. John was unsure if his brother had the same views, but believed that they differed. Goicouría, who had met George Cadwalader thirty years earlier when he was an attache of the Spanish legation, was unable to see the general because he was pressed to return to New York, but left the letter from John, the Quitman list, his calling card and a personal note. On the back of this envelope there is a crude map of what appears to be Pinar del Río province and its mountain range, with a few lines drawn across the narrow neck of the Vuelta Abajo region, where López had landed, possibly indicating cutting off that region from Havana.⁴²

During the first week of November, Schlesinger and Wheat moved to New Orleans. Each one wrote to Quitman, concerned that he had not answered their last letters sent months earlier, and reiterated their willingness to serve under him in the Cuban cause. Schlesinger indicated that Juan Manuel Macías was uneasy in Savannah about not hearing from Quitman, that Jacobs Baptista whom he met in Mobile would be able to aid their cause with \$10,000, and that Major Arnold Harris had forwarded Quitman from New York an important letter received from

Havana.⁴³ Wheat informed Quitman that he had met with Laurent Sigur, who was anxious to see Quitman, and reiterated that he stood "prepared now as ever to follow you or to go wherever you may order" for "a cause to which I have devoted my life."⁴⁴

Gonzales was closely following the events from New York, but at the same time still trying to obtain a diplomatic post. He wrote to Secretary of War Jefferson Davis on 18 December asking for help in getting appointed secretary to the Minister to France, John Y. Mason, or to the more desirable post of chargé d'affaires to Venezuela. Gonzales believed that references in the President's annual message of 5 December were politically favorable to him.⁴⁵ The Venezuelan mission instead went to Charles Eames, who had been in charge of the *Washington Union*.

At the same time, Gonzales continued to work on behalf of the Cuban Junta. A list of Junta assets was drawn by José Elías Hernández on 21 December in New Orleans, for the Junta President and its members, and a copy was given to Quitman. These included: a steamer from George Law capable of carrying 1,500 men to Cuba; 5,000 rifles with half-a-million bullets; \$30,000 for Quitman; \$70,000 in the Junta account, plus another \$30,000 soon to arrive from Cuba; 1,100 Sharps carbines; and 2,300,000 rounds for carbines and rifles. Hernández believed that this, along with "the Georgia offer," would convince Quitman to land in Cuba within three months with two thousand men, and be able to wage a campaign for up to two months after landing in Camagüey province. Hernández advised that it was the right moment for an invasion, since England and France were involved in the Turk-Russian War and would not be able to interfere. Any delay in swaying Quitman to accept this offer would mean "suicide" for the Junta, according to Hernández, who indicated in the document that "An expedition of *two thousand men* is an excellent antidote for the venom of the africanization [of Cuba]."⁴⁶

Rumors that Spain was about to "africanize" the island, through the introduction of the apprentice system, had started the previous spring. Louis Schlesinger had recently informed Quitman that these "well founded" rumors had the Cubans in New Orleans and elsewhere "impatient and anxious."⁴⁷ Pierce then sent special agent Alexander Clayton to Cuba to determine if Spain had agreed with England and France to this plan. Clayton reported in December to the State Department that the rumors were unfounded.⁴⁸ Days later, on 23 December, the recently appointed Captain General of Cuba, Juan Manuel de la Pezuela, issued a decree proclaiming freedom for all *emancipados* (slaves illegally imported before 1835); the banishment of slave importers; the encouragement of racial intermarriage; and the dismissal of governors who did not denounce the slavers. The measure had the support of the Cuban Catholic Church, but the upper class panicked, and again looked toward American annexation to preserve the status quo.⁴⁹

Pierce then moved against filibuster efforts by issuing a proclamation on 18 January 1854, stating that "the penalties of the law denounced against such criminal conduct will be rigidly enforced."⁵⁰ This prompted Quitman to write a private letter on 9 February to editor B. F. Dill, indicating that the non-action by Pierce toward Cuba would create "a negro or mongrel Empire on our borders," with grave consequences for the United States, resulting "in the separation of these states or the destruction of slavery with us." The question of annexing Cuba as a slave state was now a matter of survival for Quitman, who regarded the project as "maturing slowly."⁵¹

The growing agitation over the Africanization of Cuba prompted President Pierce on 3 April to authorize the American Minister in Spain, Pierre Soulé, to offer the Spanish Crown up to \$130 million for the purchase of the island. If the sale of Cuba was rejected, Soulé was to

direct his efforts toward inducing Spain "to consent to its independence."⁵² The launching of another filibuster expedition could scuttle these negotiations, and Pierce decided to publicly disavow the Quitman effort.⁵³ Quitman had already recruited for the enterprise Mississippi Congressman Reuben Davis, *Southern Sun* editor W.D. Roy and John Donald, without specifying their role or rank.⁵⁴ Donald believed that "The acquisition of Cuba into the Southern fold, would give the South more power & influence than would a dozen wild deserts that may hereafter be formed into states."⁵⁵ Theodore O'Hara, commander of the Kentucky Regiment at Cárdenas, was also involved in the new drive, and met with Quitman at Natchez in the early winter.⁵⁶

Quitman was enjoying strong support from Southern politicians, especially Louisiana Senator John Slidell, who presented a motion on 1 May before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations authorizing the president to suspend the Neutrality Law while Congress was in recess. He was supported by senators Albert G. Brown of Mississippi and Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, who three years earlier had served as special prosecutor during the New Orleans filibuster trials.⁵⁷ Benjamin and other slave owners were concerned that Cuban emancipation might inspire slave revolts in the southern states. The Senate Committee referred the matter to Pierce, who postponed action until the settlement of the Kansas-Nebraska "popular sovereignty" issue on slavery.

Quitman continued to receive letters of adherence before meeting in New Orleans on 3 May with Junta leaders and formally accepting their proposal to command the Cuba expedition.⁵⁸ He agreed to undertake "the establishment of a Free, Just, and Republican form of Government" in Cuba. His nomination was later confirmed and ratified by the Havana Junta and its ramifications of clandestine Clubs in Cuba.⁵⁹ Also on 3 May, the Cuban Captain General

Pezuela decreed a yearly census of slaves, and granted freedom to those whose masters lacked a legal ownership title.⁶⁰ The Cuban upper class reeled at the thought of thousands of emancipated slaves roaming the island, since many slaves had been clandestinely imported to avoid paying the government tax.

The Africanization of Cuba worried Gonzales, whose article "Cuba--Our Duty to Ourselves" appeared on 3 May in the *Washington Daily Union*, the administration's organ. He proposed that just as the Monroe Doctrine had impeded the European schemes of white colonization in Latin America, a new "Pierce doctrine" should prohibit Spain's "evil" plan to increase African migration to Cuba as either slaves or under the apprenticeship system, "with all its barbarism and concomitant results." A black colony would be formed within the Spanish colony and eventually "turned against us." The result would be "ruin to our commerce, destruction to our interests, and the obliteration of our race in Cuba and Porto [sic] Rico." Gonzales concluded by asking the "enlightened, the free, the powerful, and generous American people" to say "No!" to those plans through a Declaration that would safeguard the continent.⁶¹

Six days later, the Junta released a proclamation in New Orleans "To the Cuban Patriots," rejecting the recent general amnesty proclaimed by the Queen of Spain to all Cuban political conspirators. They described it as a continuation of their policy of oppression at a time when the Cuban people awaited the moment to take up arms to continue their fight to the victory. The queen was employing this dilatory "anachronistic" tactic because her English and French allies were unable to help her policies in the Americas, after "signing the decree of our extermination with the African apprentice system, already proposed as the first step that will shake to its foundations our social constitution, or reduce Cuba to the condition of Jamaica, if the revolution

does not rescue her. The Junta concluded that the situation was "a question of life or death" because Spain was condemning the Cubans to "the domination of the most abject savages."⁶²

This fear prompted some people in Cuba to conspire for annexation to the United States, under whose Constitution they would be assured their slave property. Among them was fifty-one-year-old Spaniard Ramón Pintó, the director of the Havana Lyceum, a distinguished columnist of the daily *Diario de la Marina*, a bodyguard of King Fernando VII during the 1820 royalist revolt, and an intimate friend of former Captain General José de la Concha. Pintó had expressed his africanization concerns to Junta member Vicente de Castro, who claimed that England was going to force Spain to abolish slavery. Castro recruited Pintó into the conspiracy before departing for New York.⁶³ Pintó corresponded on 11 May with Assistant Secretary of State A. Dudley Mann, using the pseudonym Juan Martínez.⁶⁴ He told Dunn that the Cubans anxiously awaited for the United States to act on their promises and "threats you have made of taking possession of the Island of Cuba." The sectional issue had kept the Pierce Administration from promoting annexation and Pintó worried that the government "will probably prevent our Southern friends from assisting us...."⁶⁵

To provide this assistance, Quitman appointed John Sidney Thrasher as his agent to purchase contracts and sell bonds of the "Patriotic Loan" for the Republic of Cuba. As secretary of the Trust Committee, Thrasher soon distributed newly issued bonds. Juan Manuel Macías received bonds in sequence from number 126 to number 439. Two hundred had a face value of \$150, eighty-five were for \$300, ten were for \$600, one was for \$1,000, nine were for \$1,500, and eight were for \$3,000.⁶⁶ Another \$30,000 worth of bonds, numbered from 446 to 504, went to Dr. James Andrews, William J. Briscoe and Scott Watson in St. Joseph Parish, Louisiana.⁶⁷

The Junta hoped to raise two hundred thousand dollars in one month.⁶⁸

These activities were not being ignored by the Spanish Consul in New Orleans, A. M. Segovia, who on 26 May wrote to the Spanish Vice Consul in Savannah that filibuster expedition preparations were very active in his city. He began devising ways of communicating secretly and rapidly among diplomatic posts and with the Captain General in Cuba. Since telegraphic despatches could be intercepted by filibuster sympathizers, Segovia asked the Savannah Vice Consul to provide an alias or the name of a person of confidence to whom telegrams could be sent. He enclosed an easy cipher to communicate with from then on.⁶⁹ Segovia also employed this new method of communication with the Spanish Consul in Charleston, South Carolina, who agreed to receive the coded telegrams under the alias "John Smith" at his residence instead of at the consulate.⁷⁰ At the end of May, Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto began his new appointment as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Spain in Washington, D.C. He notified the Spanish consulates in a lengthy letter to keep him informed about filibuster activities and public opinion in their districts regarding Cuban matters. Cueto instructed that "the most assiduous and informed vigilance" was to be kept on those who "conspire against the security of Cuba" and to "prepare the means of defense against filibuster attempts...or impede them, or at least delay them, by actively denouncing them." The consuls were ordered to exert their influence on American newspapers to cautiously manipulate public opinion on behalf of Spain, rectifying former calumnious accounts.⁷¹

The new minister was very pleased when Pierce, after signing the Kansas-Nebraska Bill on 30 May, issued a presidential proclamation the next day against Cuban filibuster expeditions. Cueto sent the president, on behalf of the Spanish government, "the most sincere thanks" for "an

act so noble and spontaneous...."⁷² The proclamation made some filibuster supporters abandon the movement, but further heightened the determination of others. John Henderson responded with a lengthy letter in the *Delta*, pointing to government hypocrisy, declaring that Cubans had a "good cause to revolt," and admitting that "Though having but slight participation in whatever of movement there is now being made for the redemption of Cuba, and the security of the South, I am willing to shoulder my share of the responsibility."⁷³

Gonzales was deeply implicated in this new effort, according to a Spanish spy report sent to Havana, naming him adjutant general and private secretary to Quitman, whose staff was composed of Major R. King, Colonel C. A. Green, Captain N. C. Briggs and Captain J. M. Ellis.⁷⁴ Quitman supporters included Judge J. W. Lesesne in Mobile, Alabama, who was raising funds and arranging to purchase ships.⁷⁵ Among the Georgia expedition organizers were Captain A. Nelson in Atlanta and Cárdenas veteran Juan Manuel Macías in Savannah.⁷⁶ Other Cárdenas expedition volunteers included Lieutenant W. C. Capers, of the former Mississippi Regiment, who offered his services to Quitman in New Orleans during the first week of June and promised to raise a group of "good men" in Texas, where he had a business.⁷⁷ Chatham Roberdeau Wheat, who raised the Louisiana Regiment and was wounded at Cárdenas, reiterated his offer from San Francisco, where he had gone to practice law.⁷⁸ Surgeon J. C. Bates, who landed in Cárdenas and afterward stayed in Key West attending the wounded, volunteered "for the liberation of Cuba." On the back of this letter Quitman noted, "put name on list."⁷⁹

To muster other recruits and finances, a lengthy confidential circular released in Mobile, Alabama, on 10 June, united the fate of Cuba and the Southern states:

The alternative presented to the slave holding States is, whether they will render aid to the

Revolutionary party in Cuba, and thus procure its independence, and subsequent annexation to the United States as a Slave State, or wait upon our feeble and distracted federal government, and have the Island annexed, after the measures of the Spanish government, now in rapid process of completion, shall have converted it into a free negro colony.⁸⁰

The secret document also claimed that Spain would turn loose "eight hundred thousand slaves chiefly barbarous Africans of the male sex, to cut the throats of their masters and at the same time to desolate the Island before it falls into our hands." To avert this, Americans were called on to help the Cuban revolutionaries, who needed \$500,000, half of which had already been raised by the Junta. The circular indicated that General Quitman was proceeding with the military plans that would land a large expedition on the island "with arms and ammunition for the creole population who are already fully prepared for the event." The document stressed that "this is no hairbrained scheme like that of Lopez," and that the funds collected would be held by a trust committee in Louisiana composed of the Honorable Duncan F. Kenner, Honorable Arnold Harris and Pierre Lauve. They pledged in writing to return the money donated if the revolution was not undertaken.⁸¹

The Pierce Administration was aware of the invasion plans and was scheduling to call filibuster leaders before a grand jury, when Gonzales called on Attorney General Caleb Cushing on 20 June. Cushing abruptly terminated the conversation when the topic turned to Cuba. Gonzales immediately penned a scathing note to Cushing for being discourteous and reversing his views on Cuban annexation after assuming office.⁸² Two days later, the *Washington Daily Intelligencer* denounced the Quitman plans, who was to be seconded by a Mexican War brigadier-general, and predicted that "General Gonzales, whose name has been associated with this movement from the first, will without doubt be third in command."⁸³ That week, Cushing's Department of Justice summoned Quitman, John Thrasher and Dr. A. L. Saunders before a New

Orleans federal grand jury.⁸⁴ The grand jury on 1 July informed Supreme Court Justice John A. Campbell, presiding the local U.S. Circuit Court, that all three witnesses had refused to testify, on the grounds that it might incriminate them. Campbell responded by placing all three under \$3,000 bond each for nine months to comply with the Neutrality Law.⁸⁵ To avoid being called before the grand jury, Gonzales dropped out of sight and spent the summer in the mountains.⁸⁶

In its search for expedition recruits, the Junta agreed in August to pay a total of \$1,536 in boarding and passage to New York for twenty-one Cubans and three Cárdenas expeditionaries released from prison in Ceuta, Spain. The latter, and two companions, continued on to New Orleans.⁸⁷ One of the men released was the Spaniard Claudio Maestro, who changed his name to Antonio Rodríguez, and became the Junta courier in contact with conspirator Juan Cadalso in Havana. Rodríguez distributed proclamations, carried out missions in various Cuban provinces, travelled to the United States and came to know all the ramifications of the Junta plan.⁸⁸ Pintó also used Rodríguez to forward to the Junta the latest information on Spanish army and naval strength in the island. Pintó recruited into his network Nicolás Pinelo, the director of the Royal Military Hospital in Havana, who during September and October provided detailed weekly lists of patients from each Spanish army unit, depicting total military strength on the island. These original documents are in the Quitman Papers in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, establishing the link between Quitman and the Havana conspirators.⁸⁹

Junta military preparations had advanced by the end of September. They had acquired a steamer for \$42,000, spent \$10,603 on mountain artillery, and had fifteen hundred ponchos that served as individual tents, two hospital tents and twenty other tents for the general staff. Domingo de Goicouría had procured supplies for the weapons and munitions in Troy, New York.

The Junta had pending the acquisition of three thousand rifles and muskets, an armed steamer for \$100,000, and the charter of two vessels to carry 1,000 tons of coal, 36,000 gallons of water and provisions for forty days.⁹⁰ Quitman wrote in mid-October to Colonel J. S. Ford of Austin, Texas, asking what amount of men he would be able to take at their own expense to the embarkation points at New Orleans or Galveston. Quitman had by then decided that the enterprise should sail before the end of the year or he would abandon it.⁹¹ The filibuster movement was so efficiently penetrated by Spanish espionage that a week later, Minister Cueto was informing Marcy that the expedition was "about to embark from various points during the beginning of the month of November." Cueto requested that, based on the Presidential Proclamation of 31 May, the United States Government should "obstruct, and if necessary put down by force," the filibuster scheme.⁹² In contrast, the Pierce Administration was totally ignorant of Cuban conspiratorial activities. Marcy assured Cueto that, "This government has no reason to believe that there is at this time any expedition organized or in progress for the purpose of invading Cuba." The Secretary of State asked the Spanish Minister to provide any information with which his government could "take such steps as will be likely to arrest the enterprise and bring the offenders to justice."⁹³

Marcy's appeasing attitude toward Spain was in the hope that the Pierce Administration would be able to acquire Cuba through purchase. He had earlier instructed his foreign ministers, Pierre Soulé in Spain, James Buchanan in Great Britain, and John Y. Mason in France, to meet and devise a plan for the acquisition of Cuba. Buchanan opposed the idea but obeyed the instructions.⁹⁴ As a result, during the first week of November, Marcy received their recommendation in what came to be known as the Ostend Manifesto. The document was written

by Buchanan, relying on the notes that Soulé took as secretary of their meeting. It stated that the United States should offer Spain \$120 million for Cuba. Pierce's biographer, who carefully analyzed the manifesto, concluded that "this masterpiece of circumlocution leaves doubts as to its precise meaning. It certainly is not a direct threat such as Soulé wanted and such as the Republicans claimed it to be. It is a laborious attempt at a guarded hint to Spain that, if she did not sell and did Africanize the island, then the United States ought to consider whether the law of self preservation required seizure, and if the law did require it, then Cuba ought to be seized."⁹⁵ The manifesto arrived on the day of midterm congressional and state elections, which became a massive defeat for Democrats due to popular repudiation of their Kansas-Nebraska policy. As a result, the Democrats became a minority of seventy-five in the new House.⁹⁶ The Pierce Administration now lacked the political clout needed for any future Cuba plans.

Prior to the elections, the Pierce Administration and Secretary of War Jefferson Davis had come under fire in Mississippi because of the government's opposition to the Quitman expedition. Davis asked Gonzales to provide a translated copy of a *La Verdad* article that was "essential to the proper defense of the Administration in its Cuban policy." In spite of the presidential proclamation against Cuban filibustering, Davis was still "Always hoping for success and trusting with sanctity of a cause which has for its end the prosperity of our own country and the regeneration of an oppressed neighbor. I have not despaired though the vast and the bad each in his own way contribute to defeat our efforts."⁹⁷ Gonzales promptly carried out the translation request, which Davis forwarded to Mississippi, hoping it would "correct some errors." Davis concluded by highly praising Gonzales for "the patriotism and discretion which has characterized your course."⁹⁸

On the military front, the Quitman expedition began to unravel on 26 January 1855, when Junta courier Antonio Rodríguez became an informant, turned over to the Havana police sixteen carbines, bayonets, and a large quantity of ammunition, and gave a full confession of the conspiracy. He implicated Ramón Pintó, Juan Cadalso, José Antonio Echeverría, Carlos Rusca, José Antonio Balbín, José Trujillo and Quitman. Rodríguez accused Military Hospital Director Nicolás Pinelo of "telling everything he knows about the army" to the Junta and Pintó. He claimed to have spoken with Quitman "many times" at his plantation, where he helped pack rifles and ammunition. The informant stated that nine months earlier, Pintó had given him \$80,000 from mortgaged farms in Cuba, which he personally gave to Quitman at his home. Rodríguez said that his last trip to the United States had been three months earlier, and that at a clandestine meeting held two nights earlier, Pintó had suggested assassinating the Captain General and his second in command during a theater performance, a fortnight before the invasion. Rodríguez warned that the expedition would positively arrive between mid-February and mid-March. Four chartered steamers and six schooners would sail with expeditionaries from New York, Charleston and Savannah, pick up weapons in the South, and disembark in Puerto Príncipe and Trinidad.⁹⁹

Nine days later, the Spanish Minister in Washington, Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto, was informing his consul in Charleston, South Carolina, the same data provided by Rodríguez, that the Quitman "invaders" had chartered four steamers and four schooners to embark from New York, Charleston and Savannah, and then head South to take on arms and artillery, and asked him to keep a sharp lookout.¹⁰⁰ The Spanish authorities did not detain Pintó and his fellow conspirators until 6 February, when they were caught with a number of compromising documents.¹⁰¹ Pintó was sentenced to death and executed the following month, while co-

defendants Cadalso and Pinelo were sentenced to ten years imprisonment.¹⁰²

In mid-March, Quitman was called to the White House. He found Pierce with Secretary Marcy and Spanish Minister Cueto. The details of the discussion were never revealed, but it is apparent that Cueto probably gave Quitman a detailed account of his involvement in the conspiracy, as revealed by informant Rodríguez, told him that Pintó and the Junta clandestine support network had been neutralized, and possibly exaggerated Spanish military strength on the island. Pierce, interested in making a good impression on the Spanish minister, presumably vowed to vigorously uphold the Neutrality Law and indicated the military improbabilities of the enterprise. As a result, Quitman gave up without a fight and presented his resignation to the Junta.¹⁰³

The dismemberment of the expedition ended Gonzales' career as a filibuster. He remained at the post he had held since the previous year in the Secretary of State's office, possibly as a translator, receiving a "moderate income."¹⁰⁴ In the capital he again encountered Carolinian planter William Elliott, who was staying at the Willard Hotel with his daughters Annie, age thirty-three, and Emmie, twenty-six, while applying for a passport. The ladies were "much pleased" to attend various splendid parties where they met "gentlemen who could appreciate them."¹⁰⁵ Gonzales frequently visited the Carolinians and Elliott noticed that he "appears to have the respect of the principal people." A romance may have developed with Emmie, or she imagined so, due to the Cuban's attentions, charming manners and correspondence with her.¹⁰⁶ Elliott was trying to get his two eldest daughters married off in high social circles, but their age made them spinsters by Southern standards. Annie, who weighed 173 pounds,¹⁰⁷ and Emmie never married.



Harriett Rutledge Elliott Gonzales

The handsome Cuban embodied a romantic cavalier figure during the era of Southern chivalry. He had received an early education in the United States, had travelled the country widely, and spoke English well. The enthusiastic Gonzales, flaunting the title of "General" in hotel registers and personal cards, wore an impeccable tailored uniform and a sword with a gold-plated scabbard. His refined upbringing was noticeable by his elegance and manners. His combat wounds, published biographical sketch in *The History of the Late Expedition to Cuba*, the notoriety of the New Orleans trial, and his political pamphlets and letters to the editor, added to his revolutionary mystique.¹⁰⁸

The thirty-seven-year-old Cuban aristocrat was a guest at Oak Lawn plantation on 11 December 1855, when he became engaged to sixteen-year-old Harriett Rutledge Elliott, the youngest of the Elliott daughters, affectionately called "Hattie" and "Little Girl." It is unclear when the romance started, since Hattie had been enrolled in Madame Togno's school for girls in Charleston since the previous January.¹⁰⁹ After spending the Christmas and New Year's holidays in South Carolina, Gonzales returned to Washington with his carpetbag and trunk, arriving at the Willard Hotel on 11 January 1856. He immediately wrote to Pedro Guiteras of his engagement, shaved a long beard, and made arrangements to return to his former rooming house quarters. The next morning he went back to work as a clerk in the Patent Office, ruling on 300 patents that day.¹¹⁰ He was soon busy working overtime by candlelight in the evening, so that he could save enough for his next trip south.¹¹¹ That week, Gonzales spoke with Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, who had previously agreed to talk to President Pierce about a diplomatic post for him.¹¹² He spent the evening of 22 January at the Davis home, but the children were present during the visit, preventing Gonzales from having a long serious talk with the Secretary

of War about his future. Davis told Gonzales that he and President Pierce shared the same "great interest" toward him.¹¹³ Three days later, Gonzales went to see Pierce, who was very busy, and said that he had not addressed Secretary Marcy yet on the Cuban's petition, but would do so as soon as possible. The next evening, Saturday, 26 January, Gonzales went to an engagement with the First Lady at the White House. She asked him if he had heard from Hattie and commented on how happy he must feel upon receiving her letters.¹¹⁴ The weekly courtship letters included an exchange of hair locks: "mine is silver and yours is gold," remarked the Cuban as to their color and signed with the nickname "Gonzie" which Hattie had given him.¹¹⁵ Gonzales cut such a striking figure in Washington society, that he was frequently invited to the President's Levee along with diplomats and aristocrats.¹¹⁶

Gonzie and Hattie were married at Oak Lawn on 17 April 1856. The ceremony was performed by Episcopal Reverend Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, a nephew of William Elliott.¹¹⁷ Hattie brought a \$10,000 dowry into the marriage. Although it was customary for the husband to administer the dowry and maintain its value, it remained the wife's property and future inheritance of their offspring. This was a common arrangement among the wealthy, as it would protect the woman from her husband's creditors. The newlyweds briefly stayed in the Willard Hotel in Washington, D.C. the first week of July.¹¹⁸ Gonzales went with his bride to the White House, to inquire about his pending post and to introduce her to the President and his wife, but was told by the porter that they were both ill. The Cuban later went by himself to visit Jefferson Davis, whose wife admonished him for not bringing Hattie. Mrs. Davis already had a detailed account of the bride and the wedding from a letter written to a Judge Wayne in Washington from his wife in South Carolina.¹¹⁹

A few days later, Gonzales and his wife went to spend the summer at the Rockbridge Alum health resort in the mountains near Lexington, Virginia. Hattie wrote home, "The life we lead is funny, immediately after breakfast, dinner, & supper, Gonzie brings me to our room & there we sit playing or reading Spanish or sleeping & not making a single acquaintance..."¹²⁰ The Cuban would rise early, get plenty of exercise, avoid wine, and take long baths with his wife in the sulphur waters. He shaved every other day, spent hours reading *La Fontaine*, while Hattie dyed his hair black. The resort included two bowling alleys, a billiard saloon, a bar room, a music band, and the services of a physician and a dentist. Hattie told her family how "Gonzie went today to see some men play billiards & ended of course in playing himself & winning too."¹²¹ Mrs. Anne Elliott then decided that she would depart on the 26th with Ralph, Annie and Emmie, to join the newlyweds. Gonzales looked forward to the visit, planning to leave his wife with her family for a day or two while he returned to Washington and tried to see President Pierce regarding his pending position. He asked Annie Elliott to bring from the Oak Lawn library a volume of *Lissets Living Age* which contained the "Political tendencies of America." William Elliott was in Bay Point and declined to go, not being "strong enough in mind or body" for the rough overland route. Mrs. Elliott refused to take the steamer for the longer part of the trip due to her "foolish dread of the Sea."¹²²

Gonzales later went with his wife and her family to Niagara, before returning to his job in Washington in October and rooming with a Mrs. Paine, who provided "delightful" meals for the couple. In the evenings they would go for long walks across town to the Capitol. As the presidential election campaign was in full swing in late October, Hattie got excited when a Mrs. Ashton White paid them a visit and expressed her strong belief that Gonzie would be Governor

of Cuba.¹²³ In December, when Harriett was three months pregnant, they started going to church, which she described as "quite an event in our lives & the first time I have been for more than a year. Gonzie was so devout, it was too funny."¹²⁴ The couple also went to various social parties, which Hattie did not enjoy, but went along to please her husband. She wrote Annie and Emmy that she was anxious for them to visit the capital, so that they could accompany Gonzie to the parties while she stayed home.¹²⁵

During the Spring, Gonzales and his wife returned to South Carolina, where on 29 May 1857 she gave birth to their first son, Ambrosio José, at the Elliott house in Adams Run. Five days later, Emmie Elliott was describing the baby to her brother William as "a Little Spanish American" of "uncommon size, shape, intelligence & appetite." She said that the mother and child were well, the grandfather was "delighted," and that Gonzie was "radiant" and had written the news to his Cuban friends.¹²⁶

By early August, Gonzales was back in Washington trying to obtain a diplomatic post with the James Buchanan Administration. He became distraught when his not so optimistic teenage wife wrote him a hasty and hurtful letter desperately asking what would become of them if he did not succeed in obtaining a position, since she and the baby would not be satisfied with eating "wild rabbits & blackberries." Gonzales advised her to be more considerate of his feelings, as he was with others, and indicated that ever since the Spring she had been too often acting "hastily and *under excitement*." He indicated that he was "most anxious" about resolving the matter and that what he needed from her was "comfort which strengthens and bears up & not doubt which weakens & pulls down."¹²⁷ Gonzales thought it was "improbable" that Buchanan "will not give me what I most desire. I consider it *next to impossible* that he will not do

something for me. But the time has not come for any body to decide about the result, in my case no more than in those of a thousand more who are as expectant as I am."¹²⁸

The former filibuster leader had been strongly endorsed for the Chilean mission by sixteen Southern senators and congressmen, sympathizers of Cuban annexation, John Quitman, John Henderson and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi; James H. Hammond, Josiah J. Evans, William Waters Boyce, Lawrence Keitt and John McQueen of South Carolina; Robert Toombs, Alfred Iverson, Martin J. Crawford and John H. Lumpkin of Georgia; Alfred Nicholson of Tennessee; Stephen R. Mallory of Florida; Clement Claiborne Clay of Alabama; John Slidell of Louisiana; Thomas J. Rusk of Texas; William K. Sebastian of Arkansas; and in addition, John Forsyth, of the *Mobile Register*, who had provided help in Columbus, Georgia, during the 1851 *Cleopatra* expedition; Mayor James P. Screven of Savannah, and a dozen aldermen, including freemason and filibuster supporter Richard D. Arnold; P. G. T. Beauregard and others.¹²⁹

Six weeks later, William Elliott stopped in Washington, D.C., on his way home from a trip to New York. In the Willard Hotel he met William Cazneau, husband of filibuster activist Jane M. Cazneau, who introduced him to Mirabeau Lamar. The former President of Texas had just been appointed Minister to Argentina and was offering Gonzales the post of Secretary of the Legation to that mission. Elliott replied that Gonzales was expecting a mission and that the position offered would not suit him. Elliott went to see Secretary of State Lewis Cass on the morning of 27 October, and left his card when informed that he could not be attended. That evening he went to the White House and was received by Buchanan, who was attending other guests, and Elliott "could not get a single opportunity for conversation" on the Gonzales appointment. The President's niece, Harriet Lane, told the Carolinian that she expected Gonzales

and Hattie to spend that winter in Washington.¹³⁰ A day or two later, Elliott had a five-minute interview with Secretary Cass, in which he indicated the strong recommendations that Gonzales had received from prominent Democratic Party leaders for an appointment to a South America mission. Cass claimed to have a favorable recollection of Gonzales but added that "he could not say that at present there was any opening for an appointment but that he would bring his name again to the notice of the President." Elliott believed that this meant very little since "the same things are said to hundreds in Washington who never get appointments."¹³¹

Gonzales had recently returned empty handed to join his wife at the Elliott summer mountain home in Flat Rock, North Carolina. He was cheered by the visit of his Cuban friends Benigno Gener, Miguel de Aldama and his wife Hilaria Font de Aldama, who were sponsors, or godparents, at the baptism of his son on 1 November 1857 at St. John in the Wilderness Episcopal Church in Flat Rock.¹³² Gonzales returned to Washington, D.C. by himself in late March 1858, "hoping to take some welcome news to Hattie" within two weeks. The capital was convulsed with "the vexed Kansas question" of statehood and its Lecompton constitution, which Gonzales regarded as delaying his pursuit of patronage, but he was planing on going home and later returning to Washington again to settle the matter.¹³³ His view of slavery was expressed six weeks later in a letter from Oak Lawn to South Carolina Senator James H. Hammond, stating that "Cuba cannot, under any circumstances, be anything but a *Slave State*."¹³⁴ Gonzales, like most Cuban sugar planters, believed that abolition would ruin the island's monoculture economy, creating an agricultural disaster similar to what had occurred in Haiti and Jamaica after emancipation.¹³⁵

Gonzales was spending that summer with his family at a beach house at Eddingsville,

Edisto Island, forty miles south of Charleston. For over thirty years, the sea-side village had been the summer resort of the wealthy Low-Country rice planters, who moved there in May and stayed until November. Some referred to the area as the "Riviera of the Low Country" and others simply called it "The Bay." The proximity to their plantations allowed the planters to commute by carriage on weekdays to inspect their crops. The lack of stagnant water and cool sea breezes kept away the mosquitoes that propagated malaria and yellow fever. Eddingsville had a church, a ball room, and forty-two two-story dwellings with tabby chimneys, lined in two rows, one facing the surf and the other on the back beach, separated by a main street. The homes had vegetable and flower gardens, carriage houses and slave quarters. Groves of live oaks and palmettos lined the streets and shadowed the walkways. The land, owned by the Edings family, was leased annually for four hundred dollars per plot. The residents would spend their time entertaining friends from Charleston and nearby areas, giving teas, having balls, sailing, fishing and swimming. Gonzales could not swim with Hattie, since mixed bathing was not permitted, and the ladies were segregated on the eastern end beach. Swimming was considered masculine, and the women would bob up and down on the water, shrieking and holding hands for support.¹³⁶

In this tranquil environment, Gonzales wrote on 29 July a letter to the *New York Herald* in response to an article printed on the question of Cuban annexation. While the newspaper had linked the López movements with Southern secession, Gonzales claimed that López's "only purpose was a change of rule in Cuba, whereby she might become incorporated in this sisterhood of States, following the annexation lead of such Spanish colonies as Louisiana, Florida and Texas, retaining, as they did, her domestic institutions and coming, as in their case, to the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, and to the protection extended to those institutions and

those liberties of our federal compact." Gonzales concluded by quoting from his 1854 article in the *Washington Union* regarding the benefits of "commerce, security, civilization and future greatness of America" that annexation would bring, with Cuba serving as "the bond of the Union."¹³⁷ This letter shows that Gonzales, like his father-in-law, was still a strong Union Democrat.

A week after sending this letter, Hattie gave birth in Edingsville to another son, Narciso Gener, at 5:55 a.m. on 5 August 1858. He was named after Cuban revolutionary leaders Narciso López and Benigno Gener, close friends and collaborators of his father. Gonzales immediately began writing the news to family and friends, including brother-in-law Ralph Elliott, who was taking care of baby Brosie, also called the "little General," whose delicate health required a physician's attention.¹³⁸ Hattie was disappointed that the second child was not a girl.¹³⁹

During the last week of August, William Elliott stopped in Washington, D.C. on his way to Saratoga Springs, New York, to lobby on behalf of his son-in-law for a diplomatic post. He called on Secretary of State Cass, who was absent, and then went to see President Buchanan, who responded "rather formal, and invited no communication." Elliott then met former Louisiana Senator Pierre Soulé and drew the conversation to the annexation of Cuba. Soulé bitterly decried that Spain would never give up the island and that the Cubans no longer desired annexation because the abolitionists would tamper with their slaves, and the Know-Nothings would despise them as Catholics and foreigners. Elliott told him that Gonzales had failed to receive a mission to South America, "though qualified by nationality and suitableness in other respects," with high recommendations from prominent congressmen, because "his appointment would interfere with the acquisition [of Cuba]--from the offense which Spain would take at it." Soulé disagreed and

exclaimed, "He is rejected because he is a foreigner." Elliott thought this was a strange position for Soulé to take, since he and August Belmont were both foreigners who had been appointed to diplomatic missions by Pierce.¹⁴⁰ Elliott seems to have also spoken with Louisiana Senator John Slidell to intercede with the President and the Cabinet on behalf of Gonzales.¹⁴¹

Gonzales also accompanied the Elliott family on their summer trips to the cooler climates of Saratoga and their summer home in Flat Rock, North Carolina. He described the latter town as "the principal Summer resort of South Carolina planters."¹⁴² The Cuban became a celebrity in the South Carolina low country due to his amazing marksmanship. In October 1859 he bought a new model Maynard rifle with a custom-made 90 gauge barrel.¹⁴³ He later acquired a special shade for its sight, and used it during a hunting party to kill a deer at a distance of 160 yards, as it ran through a cluster of large pines. This was such an astonishing feat that the Maynard Arms Company published his letter in their promotional pamphlet.¹⁴⁴

On 5 March 1860, Gonzales wrote to W. C. Bestor, secretary of the Maynard Arms Company in Washington, D.C., and offered to serve as an agent for their rifle and shot gun in the states of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida:

I have many friends and connections in this State, as many friends or still more so in Georgia, where I have resided for two years, among the sporting people of the seaboard and my coming excursions to Florida and principal prospective residence there will make me equally well acquainted in that State. For these reasons as well as for my being known, to some extent, in connection with military matters, and for my greater experience of Maynard rifle & shot gun than any other purchaser of that weapon, I believe that I could serve the interests of your company in the capacity aforesaid, probably to a greater extent than most persons at the South. The question is, will you make it sufficiently remunerative for me to devote all the necessary time and attention to the matter.¹⁴⁵

The vanity in this letter indicates that Gonzales was under stress to acquire a job after being unemployed for about three years. That month, he went on a trip to Florida to see if it

would prove advantageous to settle there. Gonzales had given up on a previous idea of going to Texas, because it was too far from his wife's family.¹⁴⁶ East Texas was one of the most prosperous and fastest growing plantation regions. Many southerners were migrating west at the time, including more than a quarter million South Carolinians. Departing Charleston on the steamer *Darlington*, Gonzales travelled to the head of navigation of the St. John's River, to New Smyrna on the southeast coast of Florida, and to St. Augustine. During the voyage, he joined eight or ten sportsmen on the deck of the steamer who were shooting at wild life with older model rifles and shot guns. Gonzales returned to Savannah on 6 May on the steamer *St. Mary's* from Palatka.¹⁴⁷ The next day, he wrote from there to William P. McFarland, the Maynard agent at Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts, describing his experience with the Maynard rifle and interchangeable shot gun barrel:

I not only killed alligators that were missed by the rest, but some at a distance, say of one hundred and thirty yards, long before the rest could get within range, and having their heads only partially out of the water; white cranes at 150 yards, water turkeys & cormorants at 100, even "divers," single birds, three almost in succession, at from 60 to 130 yards, severally; a blue heron at 200 yards and finally an eagle in his nest on the summit of a swamp cypress tree on the shore. I, in all these shots, standing, & the boat in motion.¹⁴⁸

The capabilities of the rifle and the accuracy shown by Gonzales impressed the excursionists so much that he managed to include in his letter to McFarland nine orders for Maynards and their appendages, including one for the steamer's captain.¹⁴⁹

Gonzales immediately returned to Oak Lawn, to await on 30 May the birth of his third son, Alfonso Beauregard, baptized with the last names of his most admired friends: José Luis Alfonso García, a Cuban aristocrat involved in the 1848 annexationist conspiracy, and that of Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard, his childhood classmate and Mexican War veteran. Awaiting

his arrival home was a letter from Bestor, enclosing a Maynard Rifle pamphlet. The Maynard secretary indicated that he would present the Gonzales petition to be a sales agent before the company board of directors. Gonzales replied on May 10 that after giving up previous business plans, a family member suggested he become a Maynard agent due to the great interest he had in the weapon. He also indicated that his brother-in-law, Andrew Johnstone, was aid-de-camp to Governor William Gist and that both had been the guests of William Elliott at Oak Lawn while Gonzales was in Florida. The Cuban indicated that, had he been empowered by the Maynard Arms Company, he would have delayed his trip to Florida and proposed to Gist the adoption of the Maynard rifle for South Carolina. Gonzales informed Bestor that he had already placed an order for nine rifles with McFarland, and that during his stay at Flat Rock the previous year, he had ordered four Maynards for his friends. He concluded the letter saying that he had "seen a desirable location for myself and family in East Florida and may have soon to go there, passing through Georgia."¹⁵⁰

Bestor replied on 15 June with an offer of a twenty per cent commission on articles sold to sportsmen and three dollars on each rifle sold to companies or state governments. Gonzales, not fully pleased, responded a month later that he intended on going to Washington City shortly and would then make an arrangement satisfactory to both parties.¹⁵¹ In late July, Gonzales accompanied eleven relatives to Saratoga Springs, New York, via the sea route from Charleston to New York City, bypassing the capital. He wrote to Bestor on 20 August, indicating that he still planned on going to Washington as soon as possible to finalize their business deal. Gonzales concluded that a substantial sale of Maynards would not be made in South Carolina until the sporting season began in November.¹⁵² A month later, Gonzales went to Chicopee Falls,

Massachusetts, where the Maynard rifles were manufactured by Springfield Arms, and met with company agent William P. McFarland.¹⁵³

The Gonzales-Elliott family left Saratoga Springs in late October and stopped in the St. Nicholas hotel in New York City on their way home. The streets were crowded with marching clubs participating in the presidential campaign of 1860. From their hotel window facing Broadway, the Carolinians watched the Republican "Wide-Awakes" parading in uniform with torches, banners and martial bands, drumming up support for Abraham Lincoln.¹⁵⁴

When Lincoln won the presidency, the South Carolina legislature called for a state convention to discuss seceding from the Union. After returning to Oak Lawn, Gonzales read in the *Charleston Mercury* on 19 November that President Buchanan would enforce the federal laws against all attempts at secession by those states which objected to the Lincoln victory, and that the War Department was sending Major John L. Gardner to his newly appointed command at Fort Moultrie on the Charleston harbor. The dispatch from Washington concluded, "The news of the demonstrations at Charleston have at last aroused people here. Everybody now believes that South Carolina will go out, and there is great consternation in consequence."¹⁵⁵

That morning, Gonzales penned a hurried letter to Governor Gist:

it is reported, by telegraph, from Washington, as I see in to-day's "Mercury," that it is the intention of the Federal Government to coerce South Carolina into submission. In such a contingency I beg respectfully to proffer my humble services to the State of my adoption. I have served as adjutant Genl. & Chief of the Staff to the lamented patriot, Genl. Narciso Lopez.

I have Sir, the honor to be with high regard & consideration,
Your Excellency's humble servant,

Ambrosio José Gonzales¹⁵⁶

Thus, Gonzales has been referred to as "perhaps the earliest volunteer" to the Confederate cause, and "among the last in service--three weeks after Appomattox."¹⁵⁷ Gist replied to Gonzales,

"Should the Genl. Government wage war upon this state, I will, certainly, accept your services in some position suitable to your former rank."¹⁵⁸ The Cuban then began to procure weapons for the state of South Carolina. On 11 December, Maynard Arms agent William P. McFarland received a letter from Gonzales, saying he had made arrangements with W.T.J.O. Woodward, the agent for Adams Express Company in Charleston, to take all the guns sent to them.¹⁵⁹ McFarland was reporting to Bestor on the 29th that the net amount of the Gonzales orders were \$1,978.45.¹⁶⁰ This amounts to approximately fifty rifles, at \$30 each, and their appendages.

South Carolinians had been discussing secession from the United States since at least the 1830s. Lincoln's electoral victory inspired the secession convention. The South Carolina State Convention met on 17 December 1860 in Charleston's Secession Hall, discussed the passage of an Ordinance of Secession, and passed an "Act to Provide an Armed Military Force." That same day, Francis W. Pickens was inaugurated governor of South Carolina and immediately got involved in the feud over the three federal forts in Charleston Bay. Two days later he arrived at the Mills House in Charleston to attend the secession convention. Gonzales checked into the same hotel that day, and the *Charleston Courier* announced his presence as "agent for the Maynard arms, and for the Le Mot [*sic*] grape shot revolver."¹⁶¹ Also hoping to cash in on the military fervor was Captain A. H. Colt, agent for Colt arms, who was passing out information at the Charleston Hotel and had his weapons exhibited in local hardware stores.¹⁶² The next day, the Ordinance of Secession was approved by the convention, declaring that the "union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of 'The United States of America' is hereby dissolved."

To Gonzales, the fight for Cuban independence was now supplanted by the struggle of

his adopted state. The sectional squabble over slavery had immobilized the two previous Democratic Administrations from pursuing Cuban annexation. Veterans of the *Creole* and *Pampero* expeditions, along with Gonzales and others, had rallied behind Quitman for a new liberating effort. The Africanization of Cuba scare had served as the catalyst by which ample support was raised in the South and on the island. Quitman, in contrast to López, had been very exclusive in selecting the officers and recruits of the planned expedition. President Pierce, who had boasted in his inaugural address of not fearing expansionism, vigorously suppressed the Cuban filibuster movement, assisted by the Spanish diplomatic espionage network. When his filibuster career ended, Gonzales became a family man. His prolonged efforts to obtain a diplomatic post had no results. It was at this juncture that he became an agent for the Maynard Arms Company on the eve of the Civil War. Gonzales now felt that he could do more for South Carolina than what he could do for Cuba. If he had any notions about Cuban annexation to the Confederacy, he never revealed them. The "irrepressible conflict" was finally looming on the horizon.

NOTES

1. Joaquín Llaverías Martínez, *Facciolo y "La Voz del Pueblo Cubano"* (Havana: Imprenta "El Siglo XX," 1928), 54; and Diego González, *Historia Documentada de los Movimientos Revolucionarios por la Independencia de Cuba de 1852 a 1867*, vol. 1 (Havana: Imprenta "El Siglo XX," 1939), 76.
2. Charleston Spanish Consulate Papers, *Copiador general, 1841-1860*, 14 August 1852.
3. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, II, 42; and Harris, "The Public Career of John Louis O'Sullivan," 323, 327.
4. The copy of the manifesto sent to Cushing is in the Library of Congress, with the inscription: "To Hon. Caleb Cushing--With the compliments of the author."
5. Gonzales, *Manifiesto*, 3.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, 4.
8. *Ibid.*, 5.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, 6.
11. Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, XI, 664.
12. Ivor Debenham Spencer, *The Victor and the Spoils: A Life of William L. Marcy* (Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1959), 223.
13. AJG to John A. Quitman, 25 January 1853, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
14. "Cuban Junta," *Morning New York Enquirer*, 13 October 1852.
15. "Cuban Affairs," *New York Times*, 20 October 1852, 6.
16. Charleston Spanish Consulate Papers, *Copiador general, 1841-1860*, 22 December 1852.
17. AJG to John A. Quitman, 25 January 1853, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. William Scote Haynes to John A. Quitman, 27 February 1853, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
22. Inaugural Speech, Franklin Pierce Papers, Series 3, Reel 6, LC.

23. *Ibid.*
24. Spencer, *The Victor and the Spoils*, 223-224.
25. Nichols, *Franklin Pierce*, 249; and Spencer, *The Victor and the Spoils*, 222.
26. Nichols, *Franklin Pierce*, 251; and Spencer, *The Victor and the Spoils*, 226.
27. Spencer, *The Victor and the Spoils*, 226.
28. A. G. Pent to Marcy, 24 March 1853, William L. Marcy Papers, Vol. 32, LC.
29. AJG to Jefferson Davis, 18 December 1853, Lynda Lasswell Crist, ed., *The Papers of Jefferson Davis, Vol. 5, 1853-1855* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985), 54.
30. John L. O'Sullivan to John A. Dix, 2 July 1853, Dix Collection, Columbia University.
31. AJG to President Ulysses S. Grant, 8 January 1876, Letters of Application and Recommendation during the Administration of Ulysses S. Grant 1869-1877, M968, Roll 23, Frames 283-286, RG 59, National Archive.
32. *New York Times*, 6 August 1853; Amos A. Ettinger, *The Mission to Spain of Pierre Soule: 1853-1855* (New York: 1932), 167-177.
33. Morgan Dix, *Memoirs of John Adams Dix*, I (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1883), 277.
34. Franklin Pierce to John A. Dix, 3 September 1853, John A. Dix Collection, Columbia University.
35. John A. Dix to Franklin Pierce, 7 Sept. 1853, *Ibid.*
36. Morales, *Iniciadores y primeros mártires*, II, 208.
37. Charleston Spanish Consulate Papers, *Copiador general, 1841-1860*, 11 April 1853.
38. Louis Schlessinger to John A. Quitman, 12 July 1853, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
39. J. A. Quitman to Genl. Cadwalader, 11 August 1853, Cadwalader Collection, HSP.
40. Thomas, *Cuba*, 220, claims that on this day, 18 August 1853, Quitman accepted the Cuban Junta offer to lead a new expedition to Cuba in exchange for one million dollars.
41. John T. Pickett to John A. Quitman, 18 August 1853, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
42. John Cadwalader to George Cadwalader, 13 September 1853, Cadwalader Collection, HSP; and Domingo de Goicouria to George Cadwalader, 17 September 1853, *Ibid.*
43. Louis Schlesinger to John A. Quitman, 7 November 1853, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
44. Chatham R. Wheat to John A. Quitman, 9 November 1853, *Ibid.*
45. AJG to Jefferson Davis, 18 December 1853, Crist, ed., *The Papers of Jefferson Davis, Vol. 5*, 54.

46. Jose Elias Hernandez to the President and members of the Cuban Junta, 21 December 1853, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
47. Louis Schlesinger to Quitman, 7 November 1853, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
48. May, *Southern Dream*, 54.
49. Thomas, *Cuba*, 221.
50. "By the President of the United States: A Proclamation," 18 January 1854, Attorney General's Papers, Letters Received, State Department, Box 2, 1850-1858, National Archives.
51. Quitman to B. F. Dill, 9 February 1854, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
52. William L. Marcy to Pierre Soulé, 3 April 1854, Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, XI, 175-178.
53. Nichols, *Franklin Pierce*, 341.
54. Reuben Davis to Quitman, 6 March 1854, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA; and W. D. Roy to Quitman, 7 June 1854, *Ibid*.
55. John Donald to Quitman, 10 March 1854, *Ibid*.
56. Theodore O'Hara to William Nelson, 18 March 1854, *Ibid*; and Theodore O'Hara to Quitman, *Ibid*.
57. May, *Southern Dream*, 53-54.
58. Louis Schlesinger to Quitman, 27 April 1854, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA; and May, *Southern Dream*, 48.
59. "I, Major General John A. Quitman," no date, John A. Quitman Papers, box 3, folder 15, MDA.
60. Thomas, *Cuba*, 223.
61. A. J. Gonzales, "Cuba--Our Duty to Ourselves" *The Daily Union*, 3 May 1854, 3.
62. "A Los Patriotas Cubanos," 9 May 1854, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
63. Gonzalez, *Historia documentada*, I, 125.
64. Herminio Portell Vilá, *Historia de Cuba en sus Relaciones con los Estados Unidos y España*, II (Miami, Florida: Mnemosyne Publishing Inc, 1969, reprint), 90.
65. Juan Martínez to A. D. Mann, 11 May 1854, Consular Despatches: Havana, State Department Archives.
66. "Recapitulation of Bonds handed to J. M. Macias," 19 May 1854, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
67. Thomas P. Farrar to John S. Thrasher, 6 July 1854, *Ibid*.
68. "Dear Sir" circular, 28 May 1854, *Ibid*.
69. A. M. Segovia to Spanish Vice Consul in Savannah, 26 May 1854, Spanish Consulate Papers, Savannah.

70. *Copiador General*, 6 June 1854, Spanish Consulate Papers, Charleston.
71. L. A. de Cueto to Savannah Vice Consul, 30 May 1854, Spanish Consulate Papers, Savannah.
72. Leopoldo A. de Cueto to William L. Marcy, 1 June 1854, in Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, XI, 796.
73. "The President's Proclamation," *Evening Delta*, 12 June 1854, 1.
74. Diego Gonzalez, *Historia documentada de los movimientos revolucionarios por la independencia de Cuba de 1852 a 1867*, II (Havana: Imprenta "El Siglo XX," 1939), 232.
75. J. W. Lesesur to Quitman, 6 June 1854, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
76. A. Nelson to Quitman, 4 June 1854, *Ibid.*
77. W. C. Capers to Quitman, 12 June 1854, *Ibid.*
78. C. R. Wheat to Quitman, 15 June 1854, *Ibid.*
79. J. C. Bates to Quitman, 28 July 1854, *Ibid.*
80. Mobile Circular, 10 June 1854, *Ibid.*
81. *Ibid.*
82. AJG to Caleb Cushing, 20 June 1854, Caleb Cushing Papers, General Correspondence, Box 69, LC.
83. *Washington National Intelligencer*, 22 June 1854.
84. John A. Quitman to Frederick Henry Quitman, 29 June 1854, John A. Quitman Collection, HSP.
85. Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union: A House Dividing 1852-1857* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), 371; and May, *Quitman*, 286-287.
86. Jefferson Davis to AJG, 28 October 1854, Jefferson Davis Papers, Duke University.
87. "Cuba su cuenta con Porfirio Valiente," 2 September 1854, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
88. Gonzalez, *Historia Documentada*, 115.
89. "Real Hospital Militar," 2, 14, 20, 25, 26 September and 5 and 7 October 1854, John A. Quitman Papers, MDA.
90. "Rebajas que pueden hacerse al presupuesto de Mayo ultimo," 22 September 1854, *Ibid.*
91. Quitman to J. L. Ford, 16 October 1854, *Ibid.*
92. Leopoldo A. de Cueto to William L. Marcy, 22 October 1854, in Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, XI, 827.
93. William L. Marcy to Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto, 25 October 1854, *Ibid.*, 194.
94. Larry Gara, *The Presidency of Franklin Pierce* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1991), 153.

95. Nichols, *Franklin Pierce*, 596.
96. *Ibid.*, 366; and Gara, *The Presidency of Franklin Pierce*, 154.
97. Jefferson Davis to AJG, 28 October 1854, Jefferson Davis Papers, Duke University.
98. Jefferson Davis to AJG, 20 November 1854, *Ibid.*
99. Confession of Antonio Rodríguez published in González, *Historia Documentada*, II, 58-67.
100. *Copiador General*, 11 February 1855, Spanish Consulate Papers, Charleston.
101. González, *Historia Documentada*, I, 120-122.
102. *Ibid.*, 136-137; and "Execution of Ramon Pinto," *New York Times*, 31 March 1855, 2.
103. May, *Quitman*, 295; Gara, *The Presidency of Franklin Pierce*, 155; Spencer, *The Victor and the Spoils*, 340; Nichols, *Franklin Pierce*, 394; and Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union*, II, 372.
104. William Elliott to Ann Elliott, 2 March 1855, EGP.
105. *Ibid.*
106. The letters between Gonzales and Emily Elliott have not been found, and were probably destroyed. Correspondence between them existed and Gonzales made reference to Hattie of the way Emmie dated her letters. AJG to Harriett Elliott, 13 January 1856, EGP.
107. Ann Elliott to William Elliott, 24 October 1859, EGP.
108. Portell Vilá, *Narciso López*, III, 148.
109. William Elliott to Ann Elliott, 1 January 1855, EGP.
110. AJG to Harriett Elliott, 13 January 1856, EGP.
111. AJG to Harriett Elliott, 27 January 1856, EGP.
112. AJG to Harriett Rutledge Elliott, 20 January 1856, EGP.
113. AJG to Harriett Rutledge Elliott, 27 January 1856, EGP.
114. *Ibid.*
115. *Ibid.*
116. AJG to Harriett Rutledge Elliott, 24 February 1856, EGP.
117. The Charleston Daily *Courier*, 24 April 1856, 2.
118. "Arrivals at Principal Hotels," *The Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), 2 July 1856, 2.

119. Hattie to Annie Elliott, 11 July 1856, EGP.
120. Hattie Gonzales to Annie Elliott, 11 July [1856], EGP.
121. *Ibid.*
122. William Elliott to Anne Elliott, July 1856, EGP; Harriett Gonzales to Annie Elliott, 11 July [1856], *Ibid.*; and Mary B. Elliott to Harriett Gonzales, 27 July [1856], *Ibid.*
123. Little girl Hattie to Mama, 23 October [1856], EGP.
124. Hattie to Mama, 2 December [1856?], EGP.
125. Hattie to Annie Elliott, 9 January [1857], EGP.
126. Emmie to "Dear Crusoe" [William Elliott Jr.], 3 June [1857], EGP.
127. AJG to Mrs. A. J. Gonzales, 7 September 1857, EGP.
128. *Ibid.*
129. "Ambrosio José Gonzales: Death of a Cuban and Confederate Patriot," *The State*, 2 August 1893, 1; and Brooks, *Stories of the Confederacy*, 290-291.
130. William Elliott to Anne Elliott, 27 October 1857, EGP.
131. William Elliott to Anne Elliott, n.d. [October 1857], EGP.
132. "Register of St. John-in-the-Wilderness, Flat Rock," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, April 1962, 109.
133. AJG to William Elliott, 31 March 1858, EGP.
134. Gonzales to Hammond, 9 May 1858, James Henry Hammond Papers, Vol. 24, Reel 12, LC.
135. "Poverty and Prostration of Business in Jamaica," *Evening Picayune*, 29 March 1850, 1; and "Trip to Cuba," *Russell's Magazine*, April 1858, 65.
136. A hurricane in 1874 destroyed all the Edingsville buildings except three. Another storm eleven years later finally swept everything into the sea. C. S. Murray, "Memories of Blissful Days at Edingsville, Village Lost In Gale, Survive on Edisto," *Charleston News and Courier*, 2 November 1930; Nell S. Graydon, *Tales of Edisto* (Columbia, S.C.: The R. L. Bryan Company, 1955), 140; and Clara Childs Puckette, *Edisto: A Sea Island Principality* (Cleveland, Ohio: Seaforth Publications, 1978), 19.
137. "The Defence of General Narciso Lopez--The Cuban Question," *New York Herald*, 8 August 1858.
138. AJG to Ralph Elliott, 5 August 1858, EGP; and N. G. Gonzales, *In Darkest Cuba* (Columbia, S.C.: The State Company, 1922), 7.
139. Callie to dearest Papa, 11 August [1858], EGP.
140. William Elliott to Emily Elliott, 26 August 1858, EGP.

141. William Elliott to Anne Elliott, 3 September 1858, EGP.
142. AJG to W. G. Freeman, 10 October 1859, Maynard Arms Company Collection, Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., from now on cited as MSI.
143. William P. McFarland to W. C. Bestor, 5 December 1859, Maynard Arms Company Collection, MSI.
144. *The Maynard Rifle* (Washington: G. S. Gideon, Printer, 1860), 10-11.
145. AJG to Bestor, 5 March 1860, Maynard Arms Company Collection, MSI.
146. *Ibid.*
147. "Passengers," *Savannah Morning News*, 7 May 1860, 1.
148. AJG to McFarland, 7 May 1860, Maynard Arms Company Collection, MSI.
149. *Ibid.*
150. AJG to Bestor, 10 May 1860, *Ibid.*
151. AJG to Bestor, 16 July 1860, *Ibid.*
152. AJG to Bestor, 20 August 1860, *Ibid.*
153. McFarland to Bestor, 15 October 1860, *Ibid.*
154. Gonzales, *In Darkest Cuba*, 7.
155. "Important from Washington," *The Charleston Mercury*, 19 November 1860, 3.
156. AJG to William Gist, 19 November 1860, Compiled Service Records, Reel 108, RG 109, NA.
157. Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1940), 144.
158. AJG to Genl. G. T. Beauregard, 17 April 1861, EGP.
159. McFarland to Bestor, 12 December 1860, Maynard Arms Company Collection, MSI; and Mears & Turnbull, *The Charleston Directory 1859*, 228.
160. William P. McFarland to W. C. Bestor, 29 December 1860, Maynard Arms Company Collection, MSI.
161. *Charleston Courier*, 20 December 1860, 2.
162. *Ibid.*

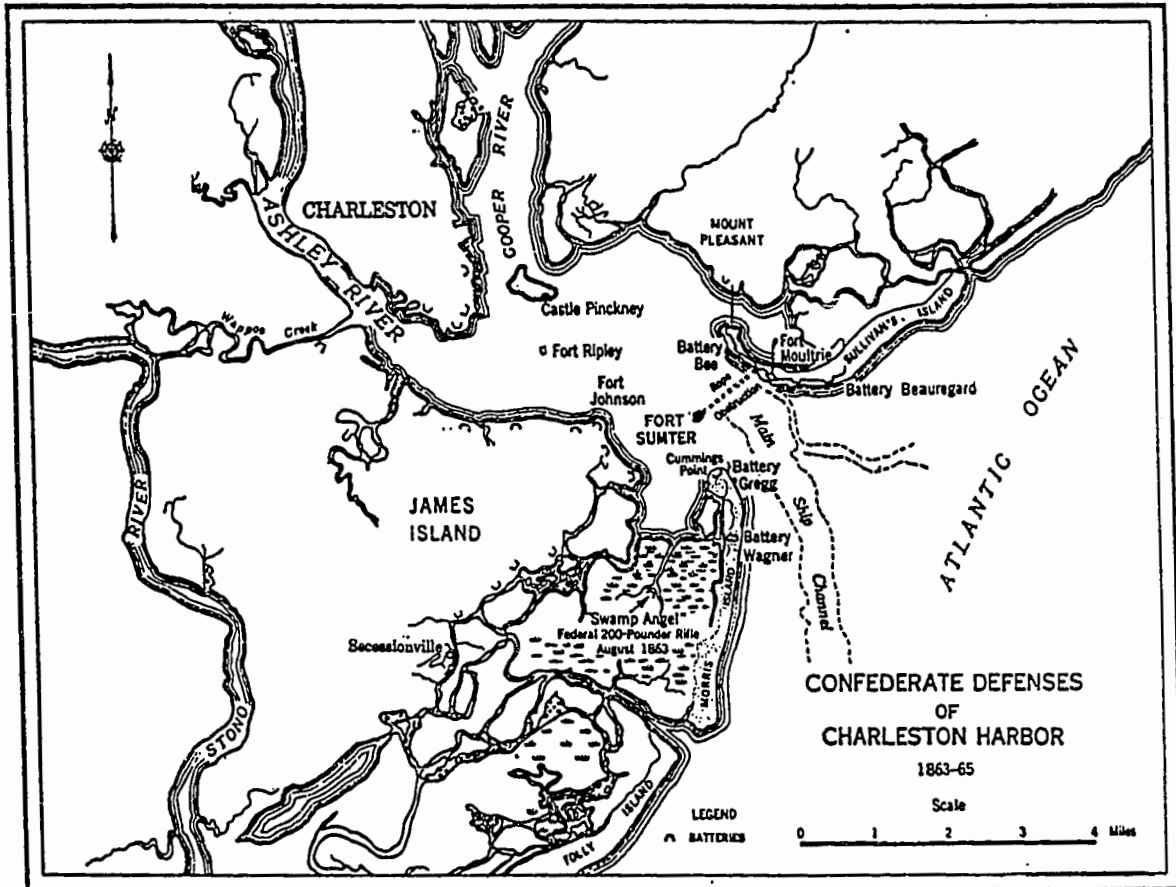
CHAPTER IX

THE CONFEDERATE COLONEL

Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard arrived in Charleston, South Carolina, on 3 March 1861, as the first brigadier general of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States, and settled in the Charleston Hotel.¹ A Confederate soldier later remembered the new commander: "In appearance, he was a little Frenchman. His uniform fitted to perfection, he was always punctiliously neat, his manners were faultless and deferential. His voice was pleasant and insinuating, with a perceptible foreign accent. His apprehension was quick, his observation and judgement alert, his expressions tense and vigorous."² Beauregard's height was five feet seven, he weighed one hundred and fifty pounds, had an ample brow, high cheekbones, a moustache slightly drooping on the ends and a protruding chin.³ Gonzales had an identical description, with the same traits and build as Beauregard, right down to the dimpled chin and the slight accent. Mary Boykin Chesnut found Gonzales handsome, a "fine person," and "So like Beauregard as to be mistaken for him."⁴ Gonzales idolized his Louisianan schoolmate as much as he had López, and immediately tendered his services as a volunteer aide. Beauregard, who already had a military staff, was besieged at the time with other offers of assistance from former governors and senators, and did not see the need to keep Gonzales in Charleston.⁵

The roar of Confederate cannons firing on Fort Sumter awoke Gonzales at 4:30 a.m. on 12 April. Clutching his Maynard rifle, he went to Charleston in the freight train which passed one hundred feet in front of the plantation gate, and offered his services to his former schoolmate "as an officer or as a soldier."⁶ Beauregard, who had just given the order to attack the federal garrison, immediately appointed Gonzales as one of his seven volunteer aides-de-camp. The other

members were prominent politicians and "fire eaters," such as former Governor John L. Manning, Senators Louis T. Wigfall and James Chesnut Jr., Representatives William Porcher Miles and Roger A. Pryor and Beaufort planter Alexander Robert Chisolm.⁷



The Confederate General expected the Union to counterattack with a naval disembarkment on Morris Island, and temporarily detached Gonzales as Assistant Adjutant and Inspector General on the staff of Army of South Carolina Major General Milledge L. Bonham, who was ordered to occupy that position. The forty-seven-year-old Bonham, an attorney and former state and federal representative as a states' rights Democrat, was a veteran of the 1836 Seminole War and had been a colonel of the Twelfth Infantry Regiment during the Mexican War. Two months

earlier, he had been appointed to his rank by Governor Pickens and placed in command of all troops around Charleston harbor.⁸ Gonzales and Bonham crossed the bay in a rowboat during the bombardment, landed at Cummings Point, and walked a number of miles on Morris Island before setting up headquarters.

Union soldiers evacuated Fort Sumter and the expected landing on Morris Island never occurred. Bonham was withdrawn from his forward position and Beauregard appointed Gonzales as Acting Inspector General on Morris Island.⁹ Gonzales petitioned Beauregard on 17 April for the command of General Robert Barnwell Rhett's Brigade, after hearing that Rhett had been appointed quartermaster general. He asked his former schoolmate, the most idolized Confederate at that moment, to present his claim to Governor Pickens or to President Jefferson Davis, as the case may be. Beauregard forwarded the letter with the following comment: "I take much pleasure in recommending the above application of General Gonzales to the favorable consideration of his Excellency Gov. Pickens. Genl. G. has been very active & intelligent in the discharge of the duties referred to by him."¹⁰ This was the first of six futile efforts made during four years by Gonzales to achieve the rank of brigadier general. Beauregard's official report of the attack on Fort Sumter included Gonzales among those in his volunteer staff to whom he was "much indebted for their indefatigable and valuable assistance."¹¹

An undetermined number of Cubans participated on both sides of the Civil War. A group of New Orleans residents organized the Cuban Rifles Company in the Louisiana state militia.¹² At least five other native Cubans participated in the Civil War. Among those embracing the Confederate cause were José Agustín Quintero¹³ and Loreta Janeta Velazquez, who used her husband's uniform as a disguise to fight with the Confederates under the name Lieutenant Harry

T. Buford.¹⁴ Cubans in the Union ranks included Lieutenant Colonel Julius Peter Garesché du Rocher,¹⁵ and the brothers Frederick and Adolphus Fernández y Cavada,¹⁶ also Lieutenant Colonels.¹⁷ The highest rank achieved by any Cuban during the conflict was that of Colonel Gonzales.

As Acting Inspector General, Gonzales tended to the needs of the regiments of Colonels J. D. Blanding and Johnson Hagood stationed on Morris Island.¹⁸ Beauregard took an inspection tour of the coastal defense lines from North Edisto down to Broad River in early May, accompanied by Gonzales and other staff members, and later sent a report to Governor Pickens.¹⁹ The Confederate General on 17 May sent Gonzales to accompany Engineer Captain Francis D. Lee on a three-day coastal inspection from Charleston up to Georgetown.²⁰ When Beauregard's command was transferred a week later, he wrote to Gonzales in gratitude for his "assistance at such an important moment and lending to the time all your untiring energy and perseverance. Such services, past and present, I assure you, will be recalled in my mind with constant pleasure hereafter."²¹ A few days later, Governor Pickens appointed the Cuban special aide-de-camp, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, in charge of inspecting the coastal defenses of South Carolina.²² The responsibility for the defense of coasts was initially assumed by state governors due to the weakness of the temporary Provisional Government of the Confederate States. A coastal defense strategy for the southern states was not formulated until 1862.²³

Gonzales gave the governor a detailed report on 24 June of fortifications along the Carolina seacoast.²⁴ Six weeks later, the Cuban went to the Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond, to procure defensive artillery for South Carolina. He stayed there for two months while supervising their manufacture and shipment.²⁵ Gonzales often called on South Carolina Senator

Chesnut, who had been with him on Beauregard's volunteer staff, and had gone to Richmond with his wife Mary Boykin Chesnut. One evening, after Gonzales lit a candle for Mrs. Chesnut and gave her a bag of quinine pills for her ailing husband, she wrote in her diary, "These foreigners have a way of doing things--gracious and graceful--no native (of the) USA can approach."²⁶ Her cousin, Mary Whitaker Boykin, found the Cuban "splendid in gray uniform."²⁷

While in the capital of the Confederacy, Gonzales devised a plan for a system of coastal defense for the Atlantic and Gulf states. After consulting with military engineers, he outlined his strategy to President Davis in a letter on 14 September 1861. Gonzales indicated that the best protection against a Union naval disembarkment was to create a "sea-coast flying artillery," composed of rifled-bore twenty-four-pound guns, mounted on siege carriages, which could be quickly moved to engage the enemy.²⁸

At the time, artillery had three classifications. Seacoast artillery were large cast iron guns of thirty-two and forty-two pounds, on fixed positions in coastal fortifications, with a flat-range trajectory of over three miles. Field artillery were mobile light bronze smoothbore weapons of six and twelve pounds. They included the prevalent 12-pounder Napoleon gun, with a range of less than a mile, or the howitzer, with a distance of a mile and a half. Siege artillery consisted of cast iron guns and howitzers of twelve, eighteen and twenty-four pounds. They were generally employed as moveable artillery in the flanks of forts. These weapons had a range of over three miles, four times greater than the Napoleon guns, but because of their heavier weight they needed larger thick-timbered siege carriages with special wheels for transport.²⁹

Gonzales conceptualized combining these siege pieces into a "train" of flying artillery

employing ten horses to pull each cannon, while ten other horses were assigned to its ammunition wagon. A ten-man cavalry detachment would accompany each gun and ammunition wagon. During difficult traveling, the cavalry horses would temporarily be attached by the breast-band of the saddle to ten straps permanently affixed to the gun carriage, bringing a total of twenty horses to the draught of each cannon. Gonzales concluded, "We have in South Carolina very nearly the number of 24-pounders on siege carriages required for the establishment of this system."³⁰

Almost fifty years later, former Confederate cavalryman Ulysses R. Brooks described the new invention,

The siege train originated and organized by Colonel Gonzales was here used for the first time in warfare. It was, in brief, the mounting of heavy siege guns on special artillery wheels, attaching ropes and moving them from point to point with hundreds of men and horses. This method of handling heavy artillery was used a generation later in the Boer war, and thereafter by the Japanese at the siege of Port Arthur. As in iron clads and submarines, the South was also a pioneer in thus mobilizing heavy guns.³¹

Gonzales hoped that his promising plan, along with his previous experience in the Cuban cause and his acquaintance with Davis during the last twelve years, would earn him the rank of brigadier general in the Confederacy, which had been given to others with less military background. The Confederate president had been badgered since he took office by prominent men seeking the rank of general, but the positions available were limited.³² Most of the commands went to West Point men, even though some of the new generals lacked military experience. Episcopalian Bishop Leonidas Polk, who met Davis at West Point, had resigned his commission immediately after graduating in 1827, to become a preacher. In 1861, "He was hardly qualified to serve as a second lieutenant," but Davis made him Major General in charge of Department No.

2, which included the defense of the Mississippi River.³³ Gonzales had read and agreed with the opinions of European military tacticians Antoine Henri Jomini and Carl Von Clausewitz, that politicians "with the necessary attributes, and with study and experience," could be capable generals.³⁴ Instead, Davis only offered Gonzales the appointment of Adjutant and Inspector General with the rank of major. Since this was lower than the position he already held with the state of South Carolina, Gonzales declined the proposal stating his reasons to Confederate Adjutant and Inspector General Samuel Cooper.³⁵

He then wrote to Davis on 10 October saying that he had turned down the offer and hoped the reasons given to Cooper would be satisfactory to him. Since this letter has not been located, we can only assume its content from the bitter and sarcastic reply Davis wrote six days later. The Confederate President said that he was not informed of the response given to the Adjutant and Inspector General, that Gonzales had the absolute right to decline, and that the position conferred was meant to continue the duties he was already performing under State authority. He then admonished, "I object to your recital of services rendered to me; 1st, because personal obligations do not form my standard in the appointment of officers; 2d, because you have widely mistaken as well as what you gave, as what I received."³⁶

Davis admitted that he was "slandered in relation to the Cuban expeditions" suppressed by the Pierce Administration when he was Secretary of War, but stated that he did not recall the efforts on his behalf Gonzales claimed to have made in a letter to him during his 1857 campaign for the U.S. Senate. A misunderstanding arose because Gonzales did not specify that he was referring to the November 1854 Congressional election in Mississippi, for which Davis had requested a translated copy of a *La Verdad* article to defend the Pierce Administration's Cuba

policy. Gonzales manifested that his letter of support to Davis made him lose his friendship with the editors of the New Orleans *Delta* and with General Quitman. The Confederate president wondered how they could have been privy to the correspondence or why Gonzales' change of position on Cuban affairs was not revealed to the public, and only proclaimed in the letter to him. Gonzales believed that his actions had benefitted Davis, but the Confederate president replied that he had been twice elected to the Senate before, and the slander promulgated caused little disturbance in the public confidence, emphasizing,

The people of Mississippi would no doubt be as much surprised as I was to learn that after many years spent in their service, I had been compelled to seek your aid to save me from their condemnation. There never was a time when I would have sought the letters of any man to sustain my political fortune; it would have been absurd, for such a purpose, to have sought your endorsement.³⁷

Davis reminded Gonzales that it was he who had complied with the "frequent" applications made by Gonzales to obtain employment both abroad and at home. He then sarcastically added that the little success of those efforts "may have been your measure of their value, and have led you to pay me in the form of your present tender. It is accepted." Gonzales ended his 10 October missive to the Confederate President stating, "Had I been your (classmate at West Point) my humble self could have done no more for you." Davis understood this to be a comparison of the services rendered to him between Gonzales and Thomas Fenwick Drayton, a Hilton Head planter and his lifelong friend, who had been appointed Confederate Brigadier General on 25 September. Although Drayton had graduated from West Point in the same 1828 class with Davis, he resigned from the army eight years later to pursue business ventures.³⁸ Davis concluded his letter indicating, "I am not aware that I owed to either more than the good will which answers to kindness shown; but am fully aware that the appointing power is a public trust to be exercised

for the public welfare, and not a private fund with which to discharge personal obligations.³⁹ These letters became the source of deep animosity between them. Fate was unfavorable to Gonzales, whose request for promotion came at a time when his close friends, Beauregard and Gustavus W. Smith, were involved in an open quarrel with Davis. The conflict started the previous June, when the Confederate president rejected Beauregard's plan to retake Alexandria, Virginia. Davis resented that Beauregard had eclipsed him as the Southern military hero, and spoke disparagingly of his staff, some of whom in return had little respect for the Chief Executive.⁴⁰ Davis had just recuperated from a period of illness, when he held a war council on 1 October with generals Beauregard, Smith and Joseph E. Johnston near Manassas, who proposed marching on Washington. Davis surely wondered what effect such a victory would create for Beauregard. Rumors indicated that Beauregard might oppose him in the 5 November elections, which would formally constitute the Confederate States of America in February 1862. Davis disapproved the plan and instead suggested making a few small raids across the Potomac to boost morale.⁴¹ Beauregard made a point of indicating to Davis the fallacies of his strategy, and proposed that the quick capture of Washington would give the Confederacy immediate European recognition. Davis usually regarded conflicting advice as personal criticism and refused to alter his decision.⁴² The ire provoked between Davis and the three generals lasted a lifetime.

Two days later, the pregnant Mrs. Varina Davis was slightly injured in a carriage accident, worrying her husband about the fate of their unborn child. She recalled later that Davis was more sensitive than usual to criticism at that time, and that "Even a child's disapproval discomposed him."⁴³ By mid-October, Johnston's army had been pulled back and Beauregard's request to be transferred to his native New Orleans was denied.⁴⁴ It was at this juncture that Davis lashed

back at Gonzales over his letter. Gonzales was partly to blame, as he had intimately known Davis for more than a decade, and should have taken the president's character into consideration. Gonzales needed to have been more careful and less impatient when requesting the promotion. He later admitted to Davis that he had mistakenly evoked in his letter the wrong electoral campaign.

The character and personality of Davis has been an ongoing debate among historians, ranging from high praise to extreme criticism. David M. Potter believed that the poor performance of Davis as president, commander in chief, and his deficient relations with others, led to Confederate defeat.⁴⁵ Allan Nevins pointed to arrogance and pride among the most negative aspects of Davis.⁴⁶ In the foreword to the latest edition of Davis's *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, James M. McPherson stated that Davis had "the type of personality that readily made enemies."⁴⁷ Clement Eaton agrees that the Confederate president's "quick resentment of criticism interfered with the efficient carrying out of his duties." Eaton demonstrates that Davis was aware of his own shortcomings in dealing with people who snapped at him, but was unable to overcome them.⁴⁸ The most recent biography of the Confederate leader describes him as "intensely critical of opposition, and [having] the tendency to react rather than act." Davis believed that "he and only he had the power to nominate officers, and he would not debate the propriety of his decisions."⁴⁹ Steven E. Woodworth, in his analysis of Davis as commander in chief, points to "His almost compulsive drive to prove himself right and his subordinate wrong--and to demonstrate this to his subordinate with extensive documentation...." He depicts Davis as insecure, "rarely willing to admit a mistake," and "His determination in all disagreements, past or present, trivial or significant, to prove himself right and others wrong

made him many enemies."⁵⁰ Those whom Davis cherished as intimate friends hardly noticed his personal defects. One of them, John H. Reagan, estimated that the Confederate president "had two characters--one for social and domestic life and the other for official life."⁵¹ Gonzales unfortunately was unable to differentiate between the two.

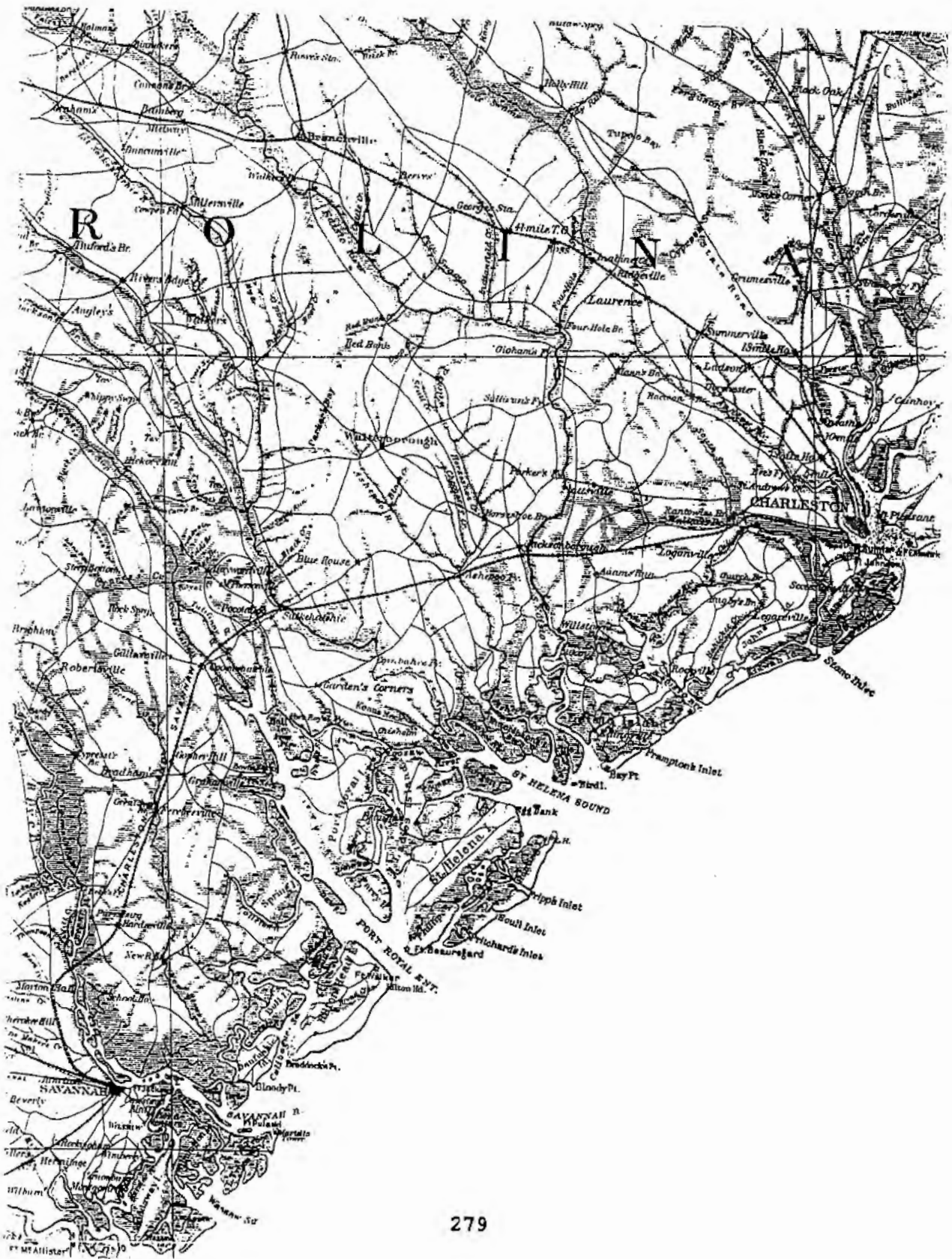
According to Mary Chesnut's diary, Gonzales felt offended that he did not receive his desired position. He returned to Charleston on 6 November, apparently accompanied by James Chesnut, Jr., as an aide to Brigadier General Roswell S. Ripley, military commander of South Carolina. Mrs. Chesnut believed the Cuban "means to do his duty, and he is so clever, may he be a real aid to Ripley."⁵² Gonzales was rushing home because the previous day Port Royal had come under attack by a massive Union naval force, as he had predicted to Davis in his letter six weeks earlier. Gonzales was immediately assigned to command a siege train on Huguenin's Neck on the Broad River, seven miles below Coosawhatchie, near Huguenin's plantation. The artillery consisted of a battery of four eight-inch howitzers, manned by the Palmetto Guard, along with the cavalry companies of the Rutledge Mounted Riflemen and the Charleston Light Dragoons, with about forty-five men each.⁵³ Their task was to prevent the enemy from sailing their gunboats right up to the railroad bridge linking Savannah and Charleston and severing the line. Throughout the war, the Union made repeated unsuccessful attempts to destroy this important interior communications railroad line, which served to transport soldiers, armaments, victuals, and cotton, rice, tobacco and lumber exported by the blockade runners. An extraordinary defensive effort was dedicated to this railroad.⁵⁴

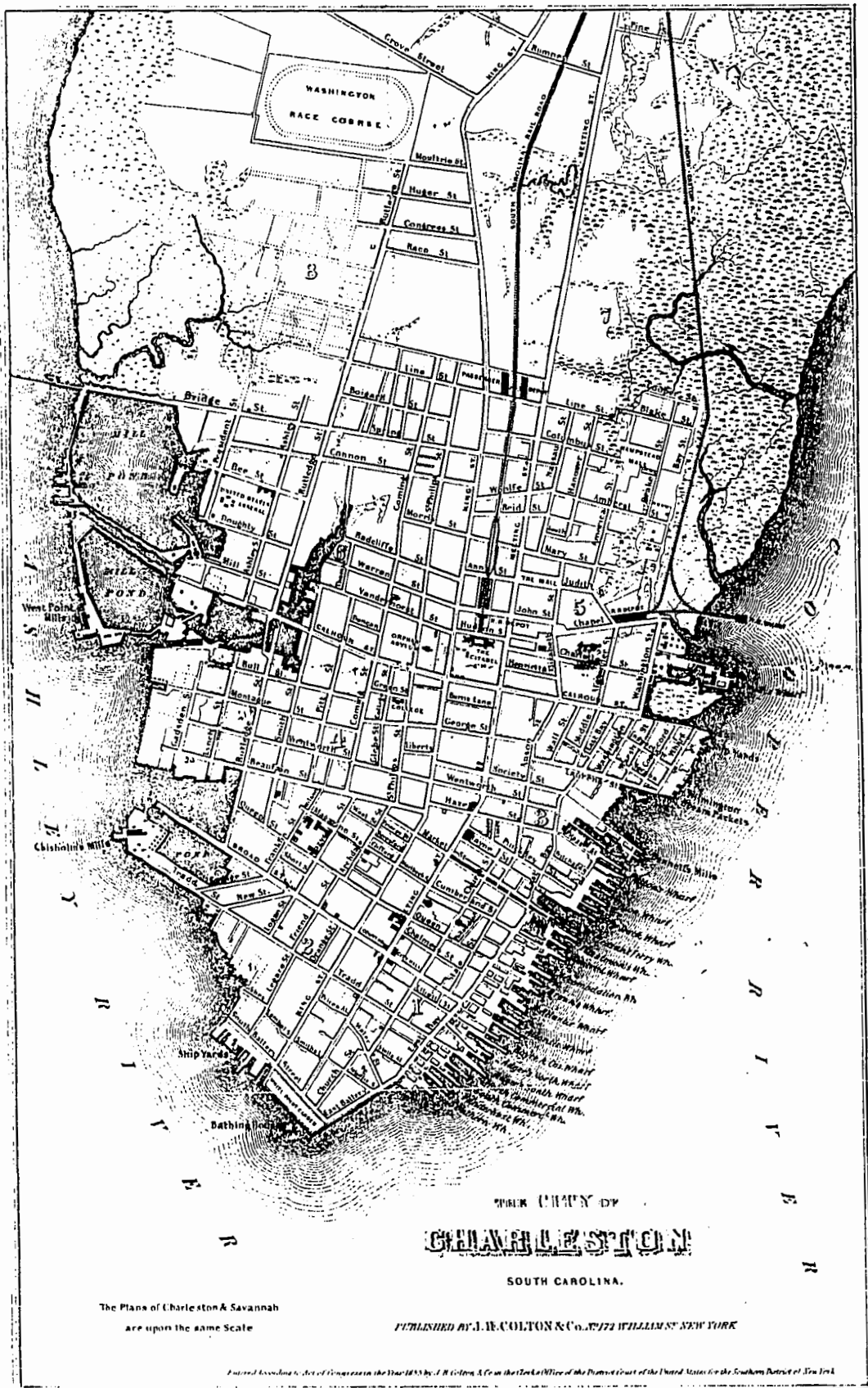
The Port Royal invasion compelled Davis on 5 November to create the military Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida to protect their coastal areas, and General

Robert E. Lee received the new command.⁵⁵ Two days later, Lee arrived at Coosawhatchie, the Charleston & Savannah Railroad station nearest Port Royal Sound, and established his headquarters in an abandoned house.⁵⁶

After the Federal occupation of Port Royal, Lee began to concentrate his meager scattered forces into a line of defense. He decided to evacuate the smaller forward garrisons which could easily be overrun; to fortify the defenses of Fort Pulaski, of Savannah, and of Charleston; and to build a deep defensive line in front of Savannah and the area between Port Royal Sound and the Charleston & Savannah Railroad.⁵⁷ Requisitions were made to the Ordnance Department in Richmond for eight- and ten-inch Columbiads.⁵⁸ As a result of abandoning peripheral areas, the federals moved into the unoccupied town of Beaufort on 11 December, which they found thoroughly looted by the abandoned slaves.⁵⁹

The Confederates meanwhile constructed batteries and obstructions under the supervision of General Lee.⁶⁰ Part of this work consisted of digging thirty-inch-deep trenches for many miles and building a redoubt on Honey Hill, on the Grahamville Road, where Gonzales would fight in a major battle two years later. Lee's headquarters released General Order Number 6 on 17 December, authorizing those engaged in erecting fortifications to make requisitions for slave labor from the local large planters. If this work force was not available immediately, diggers were to be obtained from the nearest military force.⁶¹ This plan did not make Lee popular among the South Carolina volunteers. White men found it ignoble to engage in the spade labor of slaves, and trench warfare, hardly used on U.S. soil before, was considered a cowardly refuge.⁶² The battle charge was regarded as the essential combat experience, although this strategy would later change as casualties multiplied.





Gonzales spent from mid-November to mid-December supervising a force of slaves constructing an obstruction on the Coosawhatchie River below the Huguenin landing.⁶³ Toward the end of December, Gonzales had a number of residents of Beaufort, St. Helena and Charleston, places where his father-in-law was influential, petition the War Department on his behalf for the position of brigadier general on the South Carolina coast. Recommendations were also sent by General Ripley, Senator Robert Barnwell from Beaufort, and one on 28 December from General John C. Pemberton, Lee's second-in-command, who had been introduced to Gonzales in 1848 by General William Worth.⁶⁴

Pemberton was promoted to major general on 14 January 1862 and left in charge of the military district two weeks later when Lee transferred his headquarters to Savannah.⁶⁵ The forty-seven-year-old Philadelphian was a West Point graduate who had won two brevets for gallantry in the Mexican War. In spite of his Northern heritage, he identified with the South after marrying a Virginia lady.⁶⁶ However, two of Pemberton's brothers enlisted in the Union Army.

Gonzales, who had been serving without official rank or salary, went to Columbia in January and made an appeal for the rank of brigadier general to the state Executive Council. He paid a personal visit to Council member James Chesnut, accompanied by John L. Manning, the former governor who had been with him on Beauregard's volunteer staff, and stressed the dangers facing Charleston and the railroad connecting that city with Savannah.⁶⁷ When Governor Pickens and the Executive Council met on 19 February, they approved the motion of Lieutenant-Governor William W. Harlee to urge, on the part of the Governor and the Council, that President Davis appoint "General Gonzales to a position of such rank as will enable General Pemberton to assign him Chief of Artillery in his Military District."⁶⁸ This was the only appointment

request that the Executive Council made to the Confederate Government.⁶⁹

Pemberton was named commander of the Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida on 4 March, after General Lee was recalled to Richmond. The new department chief moved his headquarters to Charleston and created a bureaucratic boondoggle by reorganizing Lee's district plan.⁷⁰ The growing resentment of the local citizens against him boiled over when his new Charleston defense plans called for the dismantling and evacuation of Fort Sumter.⁷¹ Gonzales later agreed with Pemberton that the inner harbor could be made stronger by employing the ten ten-inch Columbiads in Fort Sumter on the new outer defenses of Battery Wagner, Battery Bee, and other points.⁷²

When Gonzales saw that three months had passed without response to the petitions and recommendations for promotion sent on his behalf to the War Department, he wrote on 20 March from Columbia, South Carolina, to President Davis, responding to his scathing letter of the previous October. Returning the terse salutary "Sir," Gonzales enclosed copies of two letters Davis had sent him as Secretary of War, dated 28 October and 20 November 1854, regarding the controversy in Mississippi over the Pierce Administration's Cuba policy during the Congressional elections that year. Gonzales rectified his previous belief that it involved the Mississippi Senate race, but nevertheless claimed that, "the political relationship is obvious." Gonzales emphasized that he was requesting promotion due to the merits of his acts, as exemplified in all the recommendation letters sent to the War Department by Pemberton, Ripley, Barnwell, the Governor and Council of South Carolina, and many notable citizens, and not in exchange for the president's gratitude. He asked Davis to "listen to those who know me best." Davis ignored the plea and noted on the edge of the letter that no "political relationship" was perceived, since the

filibuster activities "for which he and others had been arraigned was not service to me personally."⁷³

After writing the letter, Gonzales visited James and Mary Chesnut. She was impressed by his "fine soldierly appearance in his soldier's clothes--and the likeness to Beauregard greater than ever." Gonzales expressed the "bitterness of soul" he felt in writing Davis, believing that had he been the president's West Point classmate, his brigadiership request would have been granted, like the favorite treatment given to Lucius Northrop, James Trapier and Tom Drayton. All of them proved to be inefficient in their commands.⁷⁴ Gonzales said that he had worked for and earned a promotion, while the other three who received it had not. Still, he would continue fighting for the Confederacy but at the same time "go on demanding justice from Jeff Davis," until he got his dues, and "go on hitting Jeff Davis over the head" every chance he had. Mrs. Chesnut, who supported Davis, but also considered him "greedy for military fame," replied, "I am afraid you will find it a hard head to crack." The "fiery" Gonzales responded "in his flowery Spanish way: 'Jeff Davis will be the sun--radiating all light, heat, and patronage. He will not be a moon reflecting public opinion. For he has the soul of a despot. And he delights to spite public opinion.'"⁷⁵

Six weeks later, Pemberton's chief of artillery, Major Armistead L. Long, was promoted to colonel and secretary of General Lee with the Army of Northern Virginia.⁷⁶ Gonzales then wrote on 8 May to Confederate Adjutant and Inspector General Sam Cooper, formally applying for the vacant position. Pemberton recommended Gonzales for chief of artillery of the Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, with a rank of not less than Lieutenant Colonel. This petition was endorsed by the Executive Council and Pickens, who credited

Gonzales with carrying out his duties in the service of the State "with zeal, fidelity, & decisive military ability."⁷⁷ Three weeks later, these endorsements were joined by one from General Ripley, who acknowledged that Gonzales had "rendered valuable and efficient service to the Confederate States" while in command of the siege train. As a result, on 8 June, General Orders No. 26 announced Gonzales as Lieutenant Colonel and Chief of Artillery for the Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida.⁷⁸

There was an urgency to fill the vacant position. Twenty Union vessels had sailed into the Stono Inlet on 2 June and disembarked troops on the southwestern tip of James Island, on the Thomas Grimball plantation. Confederate artillery, located in earthworks at Secessionville, started pounding Yankee positions. Pemberton instructed Captain William H. Echols, Chief Engineer for South Carolina, to begin immediate construction on 14 June of a battery near Newton's Cut, later known as Battery Tynes, consisting of "a 42-pounder rifled gun, barbette, four siege 8-inch howitzers, and two siege 24-pounder rifled guns." Gonzales was directed to speed up the process by rendering all available assistance to Echols.⁷⁹ The next day, Pemberton ordered artillery advanced to the entrenchment lines between Wappoo Cut and James Island Creek, behind Fort Pemberton. Gonzales was instructed to designate the points on the line where field artillery ramps were to be constructed by Engineer Captain W. M. Ramsey.⁸⁰

Secessionville was attacked by 6,700 Federals on 16 June. The Confederate garrison, composed of five hundred men, managed to repulse the enemy after about two-and-a-half hours of hand-to-hand combat, which left almost seven hundred Union casualties and slightly over two hundred for the Confederates.⁸¹ That same day, the *Charleston Daily Courier* congratulated Gonzales on his recent appointment, claiming, "No citizen, native or adopted, has labored more

zealously, efficiently, and disinterestedly for South Carolina since the opening of the war, than General A. J. Gonzales, as he is known to his friends." The article also indicated that Gonzales "served thus far without adequate commission or reward, beyond the consciousness of duty, and the flattering testimonials of all under whose commands he has acted."⁸² Eleven days later, the same newspaper announced,

Lieutenant-Colonel A. J. Gonzales has submitted to the General Commanding this department, plans for the efficient use and application of barbette and siege guns, with special reference to the speedy change of batteries and the concentration of fire towards any required point.

It is not proper that we should say anything of the details which have been for sometime well considered by the author who has devoted himself zealously and perseveringly to the matter.⁸³

The *Courier* had been edited by Unionist Democrat Aaron S. Willington, who then supported the Confederacy until his death in February 1862. Editorial duties were then shared by Richard Yeardon and Thomas Simons until the end of the war.⁸⁴

Three weeks after the *Courier* piece, Pemberton named Gonzales Chief of Ordnance of the Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, in addition to his duties as chief of artillery.⁸⁵ Pemberton also recommended to Secretary of War George W. Randolph on 11 August that Gonzales be promoted to the rank of Colonel, Chief of Artillery.⁸⁶ Five days later, Pemberton relieved Gonzales from his recently appointed ordnance duties.⁸⁷

These abrupt bureaucratic changes, along with other controversies over defense preparations, finally prompted Governor Pickens to ask for Pemberton's removal.⁸⁸ General Beauregard was given charge of the military department on 29 August. Two months earlier, he had been relieved of command of the Western Department by President Davis.⁸⁹

When Gonzales heard that Beauregard would be returning to Charleston, he sent him a telegram on 6 September asking the arrival date. Beauregard replied that he had not received any

orders yet, and cautioned Gonzales to "look out for the [Union naval] Monitors."⁹⁰ Gonzales wrote to Beauregard, "You can well imagine the delight with which I look forward to renewed service under you," and requested an appointment as both his Chief of Artillery and Inspector General, the latter being the last position he held under him. Gonzales stated that his "long devotion to the defence of this State" had made him "thoroughly conversant" with its personnel and materiel. He also informed Beauregard that the following day he was scheduled to sit in a Court of Enquiry at Adams Run, and had asked Pemberton to substitute him with another officer, but his request was refused.⁹¹

The trial of Colonel John Dunovant, First Regiment South Carolina Infantry, was ordered the previous month by the Secretary of War Randolph on the charge of drunkenness upon duty. The detail for the court included Brigadier General Johnson Hagood, Colonel James M. Cullough and Gonzales. The testimony presented compelled the court to find the accused guilty, but they recommended a sanction as light as possible, since "Col. Dunovant's high personal character, his general efficiency as an officer, and his services in Mexico, on the frontier and in this war appeal strongly on his behalf." President Davis dismissed Dunovant two months later, but the members of the court petitioned him for reconsideration or clemency. They claimed that the offense was not to the extent that it disqualified Dunovant from discharging his duty, that leniency would not mitigate army discipline, that if restored to duty, the incident would not be repeated, and again requested a lighter penalty. Davis referred the matter to the Secretary of War, who upheld the conviction.⁹²

Beauregard arrived in Charleston in mid-September and spent a week inspecting the department defenses with his predecessor.⁹³ Pemberton was promoted on 10 October to

lieutenant general and placed in charge of the Department of Mississippi and Eastern Louisiana, which included the Vicksburg fortifications.⁹⁴

That month, Gonzales submitted to the commanding general the idea of building "one or two iron-clad Gun boats of but eight or nine feet draught and short enough to turn in the inland waters" around Charleston. The recommendation was "heartily approved" by Beauregard and sent to the War Department.⁹⁵ Secretary of War Randolph responded to Beauregard the following month that the Gonzales letter and his endorsement had been submitted to the Chief of the Engineer Bureau. He, in turn, reported that such vessels would be of great value to the defense of Charleston, but that they could not be paid for from the Engineer appropriation, and referred the matter to Stephen Mallory, Secretary of the Confederate Navy. Mallory claimed that the Navy Department was already constructing in Charleston all the boats that it could find mechanics and materials for. He referred the matter to the local authorities by saying that if there were parties in Charleston able and willing to build iron-clads, the Navy would immediately employ them.⁹⁶

Gonzales spent the month of November inspecting and rearranging the artillery around Charleston. He decided to revitalize the siege train and recommended on 4 November the organization of certain guns for this purpose.⁹⁷ When Gonzales was appointed Chief of Artillery, his Palmetto Guard Artillery siege train, commanded by Captain George L. Buist, was incorporated into Captain Charles Alston's Battalion, Light Artillery, South Carolina Volunteers, as its Company C. Alston's own battery was Company A, and the former McQueen Light Artillery commanded by Captain M. B. Stanly made up Company B.⁹⁸ The Chief of Artillery inspected Alston's company in the First Military District and turned in a scathing inspection report on 13 November censuring the conduct of district commander General Roswell S. Ripley

and the condition of the batteries. Beauregard ordered Ripley to have the battery inspected by a "competent artillery officer" and to "correct the condition of the company in question." At the same time he reprimanded Gonzales because "The tone & temper shown in this communication are not those of an official paper intended for the files of this office."⁹⁹ The Gonzales report was probably destroyed, since it appears to have mentioned Ripley's alcoholism problems. Although Beauregard did not want another Dunovant case in his hands, two years later he decided to relieve Ripley from duty due to his "unreliable habits" and a full investigation was made into his being "under the influence of intoxicating drinks."¹⁰⁰

Captain Alston received command of the reorganized South Carolina Siege Train. It contained Companies A, B and C, each with their own battery of eight-inch howitzers, for a total of twelve guns.¹⁰¹ Company A included G. W. Nott, a former discount clerk with the Bank of Louisiana in New Orleans, whom Gonzales knew from his filibuster days.¹⁰²

Gonzales then applied on 4 December for the battery of four eight-inch siege howitzers belonging to the state of South Carolina that were located in Charleston at the entrance to the New Bridge. Consent was granted as long the weapons did not leave the state.¹⁰³ The guns were given to the Horry Artillery, which organized them as a siege train.¹⁰⁴ Five days later, Gonzales recommended that Captain George L. Buist be promoted to major and given command in Savannah of the Siege Train of Georgia, which Beauregard approved immediately.¹⁰⁵ Gonzales also got consent for the siege train batteries to retain their full complement of four officers.¹⁰⁶ When Beauregard reorganized his general staff in December, Gonzales continued as Chief of Artillery with the added responsibility of Chief of Ordnance of the Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida.¹⁰⁷



Confederate Colonel Ambrosio José Gonzales

The Christmas season was marred for Gonzales and his family with the death from chronic bronchitis of his thirty-five-year-old sister-in-law Caroline Elliott.¹⁰⁸ Gonzales accompanied the Elliots to the burial in Magnolia Cemetery, on the outskirts of Charleston, on 22 December. Six weeks later, the family returned to Magnolia to bury their seventy-four-year-old patriarch. William Elliott had become ill on a trip to Charleston in January and was taken to the Mills House. He was soon under the care of doctor T. L. Ogier, with son Ralph at his side, and as word of his condition spread, more than twenty friends crowded into his room to wish him well. Gonzales was "very much worried at not being able to visit," being laid up with a foot infection. His boot had pinched his instep, which became irritated with the stocking, and the skin came off after he put sticking plaster on it.¹⁰⁹ Ralph wrote to his mother at Oak Lawn on 1 February, urging her to go to Charleston, as his father's condition had not improved, his stomach was "in a very irritated condition" and he had been unable to retain nourishment for three days.¹¹⁰ When Mrs. Elliott arrived, her husband asked in a very weak voice after Hattie and her children.¹¹¹ Doctor Ogier credited Elliott's death to "Inflammation [*sic*] of the Intestines" and on 4 February he was interred at Magnolia Cemetery on the twenty-one-by-fifteen-foot plot he had bought when Caroline died.¹¹² Twelve days later, his widow bought the adjacent ground with similar dimensions for one hundred dollars.¹¹³ Mrs. Elliott was preparing for fate to take a greater toll on her family.

Fate had also been unkind to Gonzales, by not giving him the opportunity to attain the desired rank of brigadier general through gallantry in battle. Gonzales had not shirked from danger, on the contrary, he had immediately taken up positions confronting the enemy in South Carolina. He did not waste time in responding to the attack on Fort Sumter and in rushing to the

defense of Port Royal. On both occasions, the Union did not make a concerted challenge. The surprise attack on Secessionville did not give Gonzales the chance to participate, as the Union forces were quickly repulsed. Gonzales responded zealously to his defense preparation duties, as recognized by Generals Beauregard and Pemberton and the government of South Carolina. His "siege train" flying artillery concept proved meritorious, but a hastily written and badly worded letter to Jefferson Davis had fatal consequences for his military ambitions. This proved Gonzales a poor judge of character, failing to take into consideration how his actions would affect others. He deeply believed that he had been wronged by Davis and tried to correct it by challenging higher authority. Since Gonzales had never been a quitter, he did not abandon the Confederate cause, as Major General Gustavus Smith did in January 1863 when Davis promoted junior officers instead of him.

NOTES

1. T. Harry Williams, *P. G. T. Beauregard: Napoleon in Gray* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989 Reprint), 50-51.
2. John S. Wise, *The End of an Era* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1901), 330.
3. Williams, *Beauregard*, 51.
4. C. Van Woodward, ed., *Mary Chesnut's Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 143.
5. *Ibid.*, 52; and AJG to Genl. G. T. Beauregard, 17 April 1861, EGP.
6. AJG to Genl. G. T. Beauregard, 17 April 1861, EGP. Sixty years later, son Ambrose E. Gonzales wrote an erroneous version of these events, claiming that his father was "too impatient to wait for the train, rode on horseback thirty miles to Charleston to offer his sword to the State of his adoption." Gonzales, *In Darkest Cuba*, 8.
7. South Carolina Department of Archives and History, *Rolls of South Carolina Staff and Confederate Officers*, Vol. I, 1; *The Charleston Daily Courier*, 13 April 1861, 2; "The Aids to General Beauregard," *Charleston Mercury*, 16 April 1861, 2; and Alfred Roman, *The Military Operations of General Beauregard in the War between the States 1861 to 1865*, Vol. 1 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1884), 42.
8. U.S. Congress, *Biographical Directory*, 641; Edward McCrady, *Cyclopedia of Eminent and Representative Men of the Carolinas of the Nineteenth Century*, I (Madison, Wis.: Brant & Fuller, 1892), 88-90; and Patricia L. Faust, ed., *Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1991), 70.
9. AJG to Genl. G. T. Beauregard, 17 April 1861, EGP.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Beauregard to Sam Cooper, 27 April 1861, P.G.T. Beauregard Papers, Reel 8, Frame 165, LC.
12. William Frayne Amann, *Personnel of the Civil War: Volume I, The Confederate Armies* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1968), 40.
13. José Agustín Quintero, son of a wealthy Cuban tobacco planter and an English mother, was born in Havana in 1829. He was educated at Harvard college where he became friends with Professor Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, the popular American poet, and essayist Ralph Waldo Emerson, he translated much of their work. Returning to Cuba in 1848, Quintero was soon imprisoned for his role in the López conspiracy. He escaped to New Orleans and was active with Gonzales in filibuster activities. Quintero studied law in Richmond, Texas, under Mirabeau B. Lamar, and later took up the legal practice. Residing in New York City as a journalist when the Civil War began, he returned to Texas and enlisted as a private in the Quitman Rifles in San Antonio. Sent to Virginia with the outfit, Jefferson Davis assigned him a diplomatic mission to Mexico from 1861 to 1864. See: *The Records of the Confederate States of America*, Containers 8, 11, 17, 58 and 60, Manuscript Division, LC; Clement A. Evans, *Confederate Military History*, Vol. XIII, Louisiana Wilmington, N.C.: Broadfoot Publishing Company, reprinted 1988), 556-557; Glenn R. Conrad, *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography*, II (New Orleans: The Louisiana Historical Association, 1988) 669-670; "Joseph A. Quintero," *New Orleans Picayune*, 8 September 1885, 4; James Morton Callahan, *The Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1901), 76; Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1940), 81-83; Frank Lawrence Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy: Foreign Relations of the Confederate States of America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press,

1959), 113-133; Remos y Rubio, *Historia de la literatura cubana*, II, 270-276; and Donald E. Herdeck, *Caribbean Writers: A Bio-Biographical-Critical Encyclopedia* (Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, Inc., 1979), 852.

14. Loreta Janeta Velazquez, *The Woman in Battle: A Narrative of the Exploits, Adventures, and Travels of Madame Loreta Janeta Velazquez, Otherwise Known as Lieutenant Harry T. Buford, Confederate States Army* (Richmond, Va.: Dustin, Gilman & Co., 1876).

15. Julius Peter Garesché du Rocher was born on a plantation near Havana in 1821. His family moved to New York six years later, and he entered the Military Academy at West Point in 1837. Garesché graduated in 1841 and was promoted to Second Lieutenant of Artillery. While stationed in Fort Monroe, Virginia, in 1842, he earned an A. M. degree from Georgetown College, D.C. Garesché fought in the Mexican War (1846-1848) as a First Lieutenant of Artillery. He was later garrisoned in various posts in Texas and New Mexico, and was promoted in 1855 to Captain and Assistant Adjutant General. In 1861, Garesché was a Major in the Adjutant General's Office in Washington, D.C. He was promoted in July 1862 to Lieutenant Colonel and Chief of Staff of Major General William S. Rosecrans, commanding the Army of the Cumberland. During the Battle of Stone River, Tennessee, on 31 December 1862, when Rosecrans and his staff galloped to the front lines during a critical moment, Garesché was hit in the face by an artillery shell and decapitated above the jaw. His engraved officer's sword is at the Smithsonian Museum of American History. See: Louis Garesché, *Biography of Lieut. Col. Julius P. Garesché, Assistant Adjutant-General, U.S. Army* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1887); George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y. from its establishment, in 1802, to 1890, Vol. II* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1891), 81-82; Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, eds., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Vol. 3* (New York: The Century Company, 1887), 623; and William M. Lamers, *The Edge of Glory: A Biography of General William S. Rosecrans, U.S.A.* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1961), 232-234.

16. Frederick Fernández Cavada was born in Cienfuegos, Cuba, in 1831. Years later, the family, which now included brother Adolphus, moved to their mother's native city of Philadelphia. Frederick received an Engineering degree in 1860 from the University of Pennsylvania. When the Civil War broke out, Adolphus joined as a private in Montgomery's Co., Commonwealth Heavy Artillery, Pennsylvania, and three months later was named Captain, Company C, of the 23rd Pennsylvania Infantry, where Frederick had volunteered as a Captain of Company K. Frederick was promoted in September 1862 to Lieutenant Colonel of the 114th Pennsylvania Infantry, which he led during the Battle of Gettysburg, and was taken prisoner when the Confederates overran the Peach Orchard. Adolphus was also at Gettysburg, on the staff of General A. A. Humphrey, and was slightly wounded at the Peach Orchard. He ended the war with the rank of Lt. Colonel. Frederick spent six months in Richmond's Libby prison, until he was exchanged, and then wrote his memoirs entitled *Libby Life*. He resigned from the army on 19 June 1864 and was appointed U.S. Viceconsul in Trinidad, Cuba. Frederick gave up this post on 9 February 1869 and joined the Cuban rebels fighting for independence. He held the rank of general when he was captured by the Spaniards and executed on 1 July 1871. See: *Adolpho Fernandez de la Cabada (Cavada) Diary, 1861-63*, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; National Archives, *Index to Compiled Service Records of Union Soldiers who served in organizations from Pennsylvania*, M-554, Reel 19; Samuel P. Bates, *History of the Pennsylvania Volunteers 1861-5* (Harrisburg: B. Singerly, 1870), 1183-1188; Harry W. Pfanz, *Gettysburg: The Second Day* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1987); and Portell Vilá, *Vidas de la Unidad Americana*, 117-129.

17. Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1951), 314. This work mentions Garesché as being Catholic, but not as a Cuban, and makes omission of the Fernandez-Cavada brothers.

18. "Extracts from Inspector General A. J. Gonzales' Report to Gen. Beauregard relative to troops in Morris Island, S.C., May 8th, 1861," Ambrosio Jose Gonzales Papers, South Caroliniana Library, from now on cited as SCL; and United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. 53, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), 153.

19. Beauregard to Francis W. Pickens, 16 May 1861, O.R., I (53), 167-168.
20. Beauregard to Capt. F. D. Lee, 17 May 1861, *Ibid.*, 171.
21. Record Group 109, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Military Departments, Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, Letters and Telegrams Sent, Genl. Beauregard, March 3, 1861-May 27, 1861, Chapter 2, Vol. 263, p. 267, National Archives.
22. "A Good Appointment," *Charleston Daily Courier*, 28 May 1861, 2; and *Ibid.*, 31 May 1861, 2.
23. Guinn, "Coastal Defense," 75.
24. AJG to F. W. Pickens, 24 June 1861, E. M. Law Papers, SHC.
25. "Gen. A. J. Gonzales," *The Charleston Mercury*, 8 October 1861, 1.
26. Woodward, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 157.
27. *Ibid.*, 149.
28. O.R., Series I, Vol. VI, 278-283.
29. Confederate Ordnance Bureau, *The Field Manual for the Use of the Officers on Ordnance Duty* (Richmond: Ritchie & Dunnivant, 1862), 3; Warren Ripley, *Artillery and Ammunition of the Civil War* (Charleston, S.C.: The Battery Press, 1984), 17; Jack Coggins, *Arms and Equipment of the Civil War* (Wilmington, N.C.: Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1990), 61-65; Dean S. Thomas, *Cannons: An Introduction to Civil War Artillery* (Gettysburg, Pa.: Thomas Publications, 1985), 2; and Albert Mauncy, *Artillery Through the Ages: A Short Illustrated History of Cannon, Emphasizing Types Used in America* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1990), 17-20.
30. *Ibid.*
31. Brooks, *Stories of the Confederacy*, 298.
32. Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 435-436.
33. Steven E. Woodworth, *Jefferson Davis and His Generals: The Failure of Confederate Command in the West* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1990), 26-30; Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 242-243; and Faust, *Historical Times*, 590.
34. Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones and William N. Still, Jr., *Why the South Lost the Civil War* (Athens, Ga.: The University of Georgia Press, 1986), 43. Former Virginia Governor Henry A. Wise was among the politicians without prior military training that Jefferson Davis appointed to brigadier general.
35. Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Jefferson Davis Constitutionalist: His Letters, Papers and Speeches*, Vol. V (Jackson, Miss.: Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1923), 143-144.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Rowland, *Jefferson Davis Constitutionalist*, 144.

38. A month later, Drayton commanded the unsuccessful defense of Port Royal and was later harshly criticized by his superior officers for inefficiency. Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959), 75-76.
39. Rowland, *Jefferson Davis Constitutionalist*, 144.
40. William C. Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991), 345; and Basso, *Beauregard*, 204.
41. Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 362-365; and Williams, *Beauregard*, 100-101.
42. Basso, *Beauregard*, 113-115.
43. Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 366.
44. Williams, *Beauregard*, 101.
45. David Potter, "Jefferson Davis and the Political Factors in Confederate Defeat," in David Donald, ed., *Why the North Won the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana Press, 1960), 91-114.
46. Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln*, I (New York: Scribner, 1950), 141, 264.
47. Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, I (New York: Da Capo Press, 1990), ii.
48. Clement Eaton, *Jefferson Davis* (New York: The Free Press, 1977), 272.
49. Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 435, 442.
50. Woodworth, *Jefferson Davis and His Generals*, 315.
51. John H. Reagan, *Memoirs, with Special Reference to Secession and the Civil War* (Austin: Pemberton Press, 1968), 120.
52. Woodward, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 227.
53. R. S. Ripley to T.A. Washington, 18 November 1861, O.R., I (6), 323-324; AJG to J. P. Benjamin, 22 November 1861, RG 109, Letters Received by the Confederate Secretary of War, roll 16, frame 7841; R. S. Ripley to AJG, 16 May 1862, RG 109, Letters Received by the Confederate Adjutant & Inspector General, 1862, G551; and Yates Snowden, *History of South Carolina*, II (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1920), 703.
54. Gilbert Sumter Guinn, "Coastal Defense of the Confederate Atlantic Seaboard States 1861-1862: A Study in Political and Military Mobilization." Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1973, 66.
55. *O.R.*, Vol. 6, 309.
56. Robert E. Lee, Jr., *Recollections and Letters of General Robert E. Lee* (Garden City, N.Y.: Garden City Publishing Co., 1904), 54; and Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee: A Biography, Vol. I* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), 608-609.
57. Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, 610, 613.

58. Amistead Lindsay Long, *Memoirs of Robert E. Lee* (New York: J. M. Stoddart & Company, 1886), 140.
59. Robert Carse, *Department of the South: Hilton Head Island in the Civil War* (Columbia, S.C.: The State Printing Company, 1961), 37-38.
60. R.G. 109, Letters to the Confederate Secretary of War, Roll 16, 7841, Gonzales to Judah P. Benjamin, 22 Nov. 1861; R.G. 109, Letters to the Adjutant & Inspector General, G551, Ripley to Gonzales, 16 May 1862; and Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, 615.
61. Carse, *Department of the South*, 48.
62. Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, 631; and Gerald F. Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), 142-143.
63. R. S. Ripley to T. A. Washington, 18 November 1861, O.R., I (6), 323-324; and R. E. Lee to R. S. Ripley, 9 December 1861, O.R., I (53), 196.
64. AJG to Jefferson Davis, 20 March 1862, Jefferson Davis Papers, Duke University.
65. Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, I, 623; and Ballard, *Pemberton*, 89.
66. John C. Pemberton, *Pemberton: Defender of Vicksburg* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1942), 20; and Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 232.
67. Woodward, ed., *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 290.
68. Charles E. Cauthen, *Journals of the South Carolina Executive Councils of 1861 and 1862* (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1956), 94-95.
69. *Ibid.*, 174.
70. Ballard, *Pemberton*, 90.
71. Pemberton, *Pemberton*, 28.
72. Gonzales to Pemberton, 17 September 1863, John C. Pemberton Collection, SHC.
73. AJG to Jefferson Davis, 20 March 1862, Duke University.
74. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 75-76, 225, 309-310.
75. Woodward, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 315-316.
76. Long, *Memoirs of Robert E. Lee*, 143; and Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 191.
77. Gonzales to Gen. Samuel Cooper, 8 May 1862, reel 108, Compiled Military Record, National Archive, from now on cited as CMR.
78. OR, I (14), 556.
79. Aide-de-Camp J. C. Taylor to AJG, 14 June 1862, OR, I (14), 565.

80. Special Orders No. 79, 15 June 1862, RG 109, II (42), 291.
81. E. Milton Burton, *The Siege of Charleston 1861-1865* (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 1970), 102-109.
82. "Lieutenant-Colonel A. J. Gonzales," *The Charleston Daily Courier*, 16 June 1862, 2.
83. *The Charleston Daily Courier*, 27 June 1862, 2.
84. They apparently personally knew Gonzales, but I have not found correspondence between them. Willington had been acquainted with William Elliott, but no correspondence between them or with Gonzales has been located.
85. General Orders No. 36, 18 July 1862, RG 109, II (42), 178.
86. J. C. Pemberton to G. W. Randolph, 11 August 1862, CMR.
87. General Orders No. 45, 16 August 1862, RG 109, II (43), 6.
88. Ballard, *Pemberton*, 107-110.
89. Basso, *Beauregard*, 202.
90. AJG to Gen. G. T. Beauregard, 6 September 1862, The Papers of P.G.T. Beauregard, Reel 5, Frame 497, LC; and RG 109, II (35), 458.
91. AJG to G. T. Beauregard, 6 September 1862, Ambrosio Jose Gonzales Papers, SCL.
92. Special Orders No. 137, 18 August 1862, RG 109, II (42), 356-357; and Johnson Hagood, AJG and James M. Cullough to President Davis, 23 November 1862, RG 109, Compiled Service Records of Confederate Generals & Staff Officers & Nonregimental Enlisted Men, roll 81, John Dunovant. The court had been correct in its appraisal that the incident would not occur again. Two months after his dismissal, Governor Pickens appointed Dunovant colonel of the 5th South Carolina Cavalry. When the unit was sent to Virginia in 1864, Dunovant fought in numerous engagements, distinguishing himself at Cold Harbor and the Petersburg Campaign, where he was promoted to brigadier general on 22 August 1864. Dunovant was killed five weeks later while leading a cavalry charge. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 78-79; and Patricia L. Faust, ed., *Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1991), 230.
93. Williams, *P. G. T. Beauregard*, 166.
94. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 232-233.
95. RG 109, II (29), 308.
96. George W. Randolph to G. T. Beauregard, 10 November 1862, The Papers of P.G.T. Beauregard, LC; and OR, I (14), 673.
97. RG 109, II (20), 178.
98. Warren Ripley, ed. *Siege Train: The Journal of a Confederate Artilleryman in the Defense of Charleston* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1986), 311-316.

99. Beauregard to AJG, 13 November 1862, RG 109, II (30), 22; and Beauregard to R. S. Ripley, 13 November 1862, *Ibid.*, 19-20.
100. Beauregard to Jefferson Davis, 13 December 1864, The Papers of P.G.T. Beauregard, reel 7, LC; and Capt. T. A. Huguerin to Lt. Col. A. Roman, 14 December 1864, Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard Papers, SCL.
101. RG 109, II (20), 191, 198; and *Ibid.*, II (30), 353.
102. RG 109, II (20), 185; and *New Orleans Directory, 1851*, 144.
103. AJG to Gen. Ripley, 4 December 1862, RG 109, II (30), 165.
104. RG 109, II (30), 186-187.
105. AJG to Adjutant & Inspector General's Office, 9 December 1862, RG 109, II (30), 140.
106. RG 109, II (20), 184; and II (30), 226.
107. OR, I (14), 726-727.
108. Magnolia Cemetery, Charleston, South Carolina, *Register of Burials*, Book I, 60.
109. Ralph Elliott to Mrs. William Elliott, 31 January (1863), EGP.
110. Ralph E. Elliott to Mrs. William Elliott, Mills House Sunday Morning (1 February 1863), EGP.
111. Ralph Elliott to "My dear Sisters," Monday 12 oclock (2 February 1863), EGP.
112. Magnolia Cemetery, Charleston, South Carolina, *Register of Burials*, Book I, 61.
113. *Ibid.*, *Lot Book*, Lot 1172 and 1173.

CHAPTER X

HONEY HILL

At the beginning of 1863, Gonzales dedicated much effort to inspecting and organizing the artillery around Charleston harbor against a Union naval assault. Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, had given top priority to the capture of Charleston, the "cradle of secession," after the fall of New Orleans. Gideon informed Rear Admiral Samuel Du Pont on 3 January 1863 that he was sending him five monitors and the warship *New Ironsides*, to be used in obtaining the surrender of the city.¹ A constant clamor by Northern newspapers had influenced public opinion to believe that the capture of Charleston had greater symbolic importance than taking Richmond. Union generals felt that a victory there would redeem their failure to relieve Fort Sumter in 1861. Charleston was an important commercial seaport and the main blockade-running lifeline to Europe. During the previous year, large amounts of cotton and agricultural products had left through Charleston, while thousands of weapons and tons of munitions arrived there to maintain the Confederate war effort. The fall of Charleston would open the way to the Southern heartland and the industrial centers in Columbia and Augusta.²

Charleston was also an important military target. The city had numerous production plants that contributed finished goods to the military. The United States Arsenal there had been seized by the Confederates, and between March and November 1863, it "issued 16,000 heavy artillery projectiles, repaired nearly 10,000 small arms, fabricated three million small arms cartridges, and, toward the end on the year, turned out 2,000 metallic friction primers a day." The 329 arsenal employees also banded, rifled and repaired heavy guns and built carriages for them. The arsenal also cast some twenty to thirty twelve-pound Napoleon guns.³



Oil portrait of Confederate Colonel Ambrosio José Gonzales, in possession of Doctor Ambrose Gonzales Hampton.

The work of Gonzales as chief of artillery was being hindered by his dual task as department chief of ordnance, which proved to be a bureaucratic imbroglio. This included recording in his office all requisitions on the Charleston Arsenal, and all invoices and receipts of the officers making them. Gonzales was soon at odds with Colonel Josiah Gorgas, Confederate Chief of Ordnance in Richmond, over the quantity of ammunition urgently needed for the defense of Charleston. He had sent Gorgas two requisitions a few weeks earlier for ordnance stores that the Atlanta arsenal refused to release unless approved by the Confederate Chief of Ordnance. Gonzales complained that his department did not have Enfield cartridges, that the Charleston Arsenal had a limited supply of lead that was producing only thirty-eight projectiles per day for 32- and 42-pound guns, and that he was unable to meet requisitions from Florida. The Augusta Arsenal was unable to manufacture the shells for lack of flasks and material, and the Macon arsenal did not have the drawings needed to make them for heavy guns. Gonzales indicated that the situation in Charleston was desperate, since the rifle guns in Forts Sumter and Moultrie had an average of less than fifty rounds, and there was no ammunition for a number of 12-pounder rifle guns belonging to the siege train and others deployed around the harbor.⁴

Gorgas complained to Beauregard after the first requisition, but the general objected to the opinions expressed against Gonzales, and told him to mind his own business instead of meddling with his staff.⁵ Gorgas informed Gonzales on 6 January 1863 that the Atlanta arsenal was "so fully occupied in supplying the army in Tennessee that I cannot call upon it to serve your department," but he had ordered the Macon and Columbus arsenals to each send 50,000 Enfield cartridges to Charleston as soon as possible. Gorgas concluded by asking Gonzales to send a list of his artillery needs, "limiting your requisition to, say, 150 rounds per gun."⁶ That

same day, Beauregard wrote to Adjutant and Inspector General Samuel Cooper in Richmond that Gorgas was causing "needless and possibly prejudicial delay in the supply of ordnance stores required in this Department for an emergency of which I have been notified by the Secretary of War as probable, namely an early attack of the Enemy." Beauregard complained that his troops had on the average sixty-five rounds of ammunition per man, and that he wanted to increase it to at least one hundred. He denounced the Ordnance Bureau in Richmond as being "fraught with delay and obstruction and I have to invoke the attention of the War Department to it as a growing evil."⁷

At the end of January Gonzales applied for a promotion to "rank becoming his position & duties," which was approved and forwarded by Beauregard to the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office.⁸ Two weeks later, growing supply problems and frustration with the policies of the Confederate Ordnance Department led Gonzales to ask to be relieved of the duties of chief of ordnance.⁹ Beauregard immediately denied his request because it could not be done at that moment "without material injury to the public service."¹⁰

Gonzales continued to pursue his ordnance duties with zeal in spite of the supply difficulties. He issued a circular on 22 March calling for district ordnance officers to submit regular reports to him. Failure to comply would result in penalties. This prompted a protest from First District Commander, General Roswell Ripley, who claimed that Gonzales did not have the authority to promulgate penalties or to warrant inspections from district staff officers that were not deemed necessary by the district commander. Ripley, still resentful of the accusations Gonzales made against him four months earlier, complained to Department Headquarters that to implement "the proceeding indicated would be needlessly to multiply papers, and entail the

necessity of employing a large additional force of Staff Officers & clerks."¹¹ Chief of Staff General Thomas Jordan later called Gonzales' attention to the "redundancy" of the paragraph in question in his circular and the "irregularity" with which the document was sent directly to the First District Ordnance Officer and not through the District Commander.¹²

Two days later, Ripley jumped at another opportunity to criticize Gonzales before Department Headquarters, claiming that his district was deficient of artillery friction tubes and that "The Chief of Ordnance has 4 or 5,000 on hand which he declines to issue." Gonzales responded that he had not issued the 4,500 friction tubes in store due to the probabilities of an imminent attack on Charleston and because he awaited a requisition made three months earlier for 130,000 friction and priming tubes from the Richmond and Atlanta arsenals. Just two days earlier, he had received from Atlanta six thousand friction tubes and five thousand priming tubes. The complete shipment, except one thousand friction tubes, had already been ordered sent to Ripley, leaving in store for the rest of the department 2,500 friction tubes and 2,000 priming tubes. Gonzales sarcastically added that "If the General Commanding so desire it, they will also be issued to Brig. Genl. Ripley." This was never carried out, but Beauregard responded to Ripley that the course of action taken by Gonzales had his "entire approval."¹³

The Chief of Ordnance retaliated against Ripley during the first week of April by reporting to Department Headquarters that the First District ordnance stores depot at Summerville was left unguarded. Ripley responded that it was unknown to him what might be there and that headquarters never told him to assign a sentinel, which would "probably be as much hindrance as protection." Beauregard ordered Ripley to send a small company to Summerville to establish a garrison and guard the depot.¹⁴

Meanwhile, the most powerful fleet of ironclads ever assembled in history gathered outside Charleston harbor on 5 April. Major General David Hunter, commander of the Department of the South, had transferred a large part of his force of twenty-three thousand men to nearby Folly and Seabrook islands and nearby areas, expecting to enter Charleston behind the fleet. The advance was canceled the next day due to hazy weather, while the Confederate chief of artillery asked Beauregard for the South Carolina Siege Train, and was told to make a formal requisition for it.¹⁵ Gonzales intended to mobilize the twelve howitzers of reserve artillery to impede the enemy troop advancement, and reviewed the strategic position of the sixty-four guns and five mortars engaged in the defense of the harbor entrance. Fort Sumter had thirty guns and three mortars. On Sullivan's Island, there were nineteen guns and two mortars in Fort Moultrie, six guns in Battery Bee, and three guns in Battery Beauregard. The guns engaged on Morris Island were two in Cumming's Point Battery and four in Battery Wagner. Two companies of infantry were sent to those islands to reinforce their garrisons against a land attack.¹⁶

The Union plan was to run this gauntlet, without returning fire, until they had close range of Fort Sumter. They would concentrate their aim on the center embrasure to create a penetrable breach. After reducing Sumter, the fleet would attack the Morris Island batteries. The ironclads, armed with two large guns each, got under way at one fifteen on the afternoon of the 7th, and churned into the main channel in the following order of battle: the *Weehawken*, pushing a fifty-foot raft to detonate torpedoes, the *Passaic*, the *Montauk*, the *Patapsco*, the flagship frigate *New Ironsides*, equipped with sixteen guns, followed by the *Catskill*, the *Nantucket*, the *Nahant* and the *Keokuk*. The fleet carried a total of thirty-two guns and 1,200 men.¹⁷

The Confederates had marked the channel with colored buoys, to indicate the location of

mines and the exact range of their guns. The action began around three o'clock and lasted more than two hours, while Charlestonians crowded the rooftops and the waterfront to view the bombardment. The fleet was outnumbered in guns two-to-one and were virtually sitting ducks. The *Weehawken* was hit fifty-three times and fired twenty-six shots. The *Passaic*, struck thirty-five times, fired thirteen shells before its turret rails were immobilized by two successive direct hits. The *Montauk* fared better, firing twenty-seven times and being hit fourteen. The *Patapsco* had one of its guns disabled after the fifth round, and took on forty-seven hits. The ironclads had difficulty maneuvering in the narrow channel and upon retreating two of them collided with the flagship. The *New Ironsides* only fired eight times at Fort Moultrie, got hit sixty-three times, and had to anchor twice to prevent from being dragged to shore by the current. The *Nantucket* got off fifteen shots and received fifty-one in return. The *Nahant* fired three times before its turret jammed, and it was hit thirty-six times. The last vessel, the *Keokuk*, defiantly passed the retreating ironclads, but managed to fire only three times before being peppered by ninety shells. Nineteen hits were on the waterline and just below, forcing the final withdrawal at 4:40 p.m.¹⁸

The Confederates fired a total of 2,209 shells, making 520 hits.¹⁹ The fleet managed to shoot 142 times. Rear Admiral Du Pont called off the attack the next day after the *Keokuk* sunk and three others were beyond immediate repair. This failure would cost Du Pont his command of the South Atlantic Squadron.²⁰ In his combat report to Richmond, Commanding General Beauregard praised and thanked Colonel Gonzales and Engineer Majors David B. Harris and William H. Echols "for valuable services in their respective Departments."²¹

Six days after the battle, anticipating a renewed attack, Gonzales submitted to Beauregard a new series of plans for fortifications on Fort Sumter and Fort Johnson and rearranging the guns

around the inner harbor. He recommended removing all of the thirty-two pound guns from Sumter and placing fifteen of them on barbette carriages on the high hills of Morris Island. The only artillery to remain were the Columbiads and the heavy rifle guns. To strengthen the crumbling fortress, Gonzales suggested filling up the casemates and the quarters of the south face with concrete, or part concrete and the other sand. In anticipation of another ironclad attack, Gonzales recommended casting thirteen-inch mortars, to be placed on Morris and Sullivan's Island.²² Their high-arch trajectory could hit the ironclads on the top thinner armor. Beauregard responded that "Some of the ideas contained in this communication are good, others not so, & others again, although good, are impracticable at this time." Beauregard considered the reorganization of the defenses such a momentous subject that a Board of Engineers and Artillery officers should be called to decide on it and examine the views of Gonzales.²³

Gonzales again inquired about the siege train on 14 April, and was informed the next day that it was under the command of General Ripley.²⁴ Gonzales requested on 1 May that the siege train be brought back to its original location at the race course in Charleston, but Beauregard later decided to leave it at Hampstead Mall, in St. Andrew's Parish, south of the Ashley River, in the First Military District.²⁵ The following day, Gonzales applied for a seven-day leave of absence to spend with his family at Oak Lawn. It was his first furlough request since the war started, and Beauregard immediately approved it.²⁶ At the end of May, Gonzales was granted the request made three months earlier to be relieved from duty as Chief of Ordnance of the Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, and continued as Chief of Artillery. The vacancy was assigned to Lieutenant-Colonel J. R. Waddy, until then the department's assistant adjutant general.²⁷

The South Carolina Siege Train was consigned on 22 June to Major Edward Manigault, a forty-six-year-old Charlestonian bachelor, from a prominent French Huguenot colonial family. He and his brother Arthur had been officers in the Mexican War and after secession he was Chief of Ordnance of the state of South Carolina. Manigault had written to Secretary of War James Seddon the previous month, requesting command of the siege train after the resignation of Major Alston.²⁸ As chief of artillery, Gonzales was responsible for this reserve flying artillery, and on 9 July he was ordered by Beauregard to "hold the siege train in readiness to move at a moment's notice."²⁹ The next day, Union troops on northern Folly Island opened up on Confederate positions on Morris Island with forty-seven artillery pieces they had secretly set up during the previous week.³⁰ Under cover of the bombardment, Federal infantry crossed the inlet in small boats and occupied the lower part of Morris Island, going as far as Battery Wagner.

That morning, Gonzales received orders from Brigadier General Thomas Jordan, Beauregard's Chief of Staff, to inspect all the heavy batteries on James Island, commencing with Fort Pemberton, and to consult with their commanding officers regarding the most pressing needs. He was also instructed to send the siege train to the most available position on James Island where it could advantageously engage the enemy's gunboats.³¹

Major Manigault was ordered to move the siege train from the race course in Charleston to McLeod's House on James Island. Companies A and B were dispatched, as Company C had been detached a few weeks earlier to occupy the Artillery Cross Roads.³² The siege train crossed the Ashley Bridge at 9 a.m. and arrived at their destination one hour later. Gonzales reached McLeod's around 11 a.m. and Manigault reported to him in person.³³ After conferring with Colonel Charles H. Simonton, commanding the island, the siege train was assigned to

occupy the field near New Bridge on James Island Creek to impede a possible enemy advancement. After inspecting the Western Lines on James Island, Gonzales sent a report to the Ordnance Department detailing "the want of ammunition chests and arms, etc., for the troops."³⁴

The next morning, Federal forces attempting to occupy Battery Wagner were repulsed. Six months earlier, Gonzales had recommended that fifty "shells on land with sensitive tubes" (land mines, also called torpedoes) be placed in the gorge in front of the fortification, which was approved by Beauregard and referred to General Ripley for action.³⁵ Although Gonzales originated the idea of employing the mines at Battery Wagner, historians have failed to give him due credit.³⁶ Some of these mines exploded under Union troops when they launched a second assault with six thousand men on 18 July.³⁷ The attack was spearheaded by the 54th Massachusetts, the first regularly organized African-American regiment to fight in the Civil War. After vicious hand-to-hand combat with 1,300 Southerners, the Union forces retreated with more than 1,500 casualties, including 111 officers, one of them being Colonel Shaw, commander of the 54th.³⁸

Expecting a third attack, Gonzales recommended to the commanding general on 25 July that sixty double-barrel guns in the Charleston arsenal be sent to Battery Wagner for its defense. These weapons would be more efficient than rifles in personal combat. Beauregard referred the matter to Brigadier General Ripley for possible requisition.³⁹ The next day, Gonzales arrived before 5 a.m. at Legare's Point on James Island, where the siege train was located, and had breakfast with Major Manigault. They examined the layout of the batteries, which was criticized by Manigault due to their lack of protection and narrow field of fire. Gonzales concurred with the observations and Manigault prepared a critical report. They later dined with Captains A. N.

Toutant Beauregard and Stephen Proctor.⁴⁰ The following morning, Gonzales sent General Ripley a report suggesting that rifled ammunition, which was scarce, be obtained for the guns at Legare's Point.⁴¹

Gonzales was assigned by Beauregard to special service as chief of artillery on James Island on 5 August, in the newly created sub-division of the First Military District, commanded by Brigadier General William Taliaferro.⁴² He retained his position as department chief of artillery, with the added duties of inspecting and improving the disposition of the armament in Fort Pemberton and the defensive system on James Island facing the enemy.⁴³ Six days later, Gonzales was ordered by Beauregard to move his headquarters from Charleston to James Island, and to quickly put into fighting condition the new batteries from Fort Johnson to Secessionville, which were only to be fired under special orders from Beauregard's headquarters or from General Ripley.⁴⁴

After relocating to James Island, Gonzales applied again for an increase in rank on 19 August. He indicated to Secretary of War James Seddon that his commission as colonel of artillery dated over one year, that he was senior artillery officer commanding 157 heavy, siege and light guns, and that the duties of his office would be best rendered if he had the assistance of a staff. Beauregard endorsed the application, indicating that "Col. Gonzales is active, zealous and intelligent in the discharge of his duties."⁴⁵ Six days later, Gonzales informed President Davis of his application for promotion, to which he was eligible, since he had nearly double the number of the eighty guns needed to form an artillery brigadier general's command. He pointed out that he was in charge of all artillery on James Island and the Main, comprising Fort Pemberton, Fort Johnson and Fort Lamar, and all the lines armed for the defence of Charleston.

Gonzales expected the number of artillery pieces he had to increase when the construction of works on the harbor and the Stono River were completed and supplied with guns from other points. He closed his letter emphasizing, "Had I not devoted myself to the defence of this State where my family reside, I would have gone to Vicksburg with Genl. Pemberton and I am satisfied that he would have applied for me, advancement in rank."⁴⁶ Seddon quickly responded, "I have no Brigadier's Command to assign to, if I should appoint." Davis delayed more than three months in sending the missive he received to the Secretary of War, affirming that the appointment of an officer to command the artillery at Charleston was justified, but he was noncommittal toward Gonzales.⁴⁷

The Artillery Chief stayed on James Island for four months, reorganizing and completing the armament there and at St. Andrews Parish. When this work was finished, he applied for and received a ten-day leave of absence to spend Thanksgiving with his family at Oak Lawn.⁴⁸ Gonzales was reassigned by Beauregard on 3 December to his position as Chief of Artillery of the Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida.⁴⁹ He returned home for Christmas, having his brother-in-law, Ralph Emms Elliott, a private with the Charleston Light Dragoons, assigned to report to him for fifteen days.⁵⁰ It was probably during this period that Gonzales posed for an oil painting in his Confederate uniform. At the age of forty-five, his hair had turned a light brownish-gray and three aging lines creased his forehead.⁵¹

Gonzales was back in his office in Charleston by 9 January 1864. He took up residence at 46 Rutledge Avenue, a large two-story house facing the Ashley River.⁵² The following month, he sent an unofficial letter to President Davis regarding a recently passed bill in the Confederate Congress that regulated the Army General Staff but ignored its artillery department. Gonzales

presumed that the only form of promotion would be upon the order of the president if an officer had a proportionate number of guns under his command. He enclosed copies of six 1863 documents with orders, endorsements and recommendations, to indicate the importance of the work he had been doing as Department Chief of Artillery, and highlighted some of the major points in two paragraphs. He also emphasized,

As we, of the Artillery, cannot grasp a ten-inch Columbiad, as my old compatriot of La Mancha grasped his lance, to sally forth in quest of an adventure and opportunities for renown, it may be reasonable to expect of the public at large that, if some notice be taken of our keeping the enemy at bay for months and years of continuous labor and exposure, envy shall not construe it otherwise than as our share of public honor and reward.⁵³

Gonzales mentioned that he had not been in Charleston when the president visited the city in November because of his pressing duties on James Island. He sent his best regards to Mrs. Davis and asked "that you will say to her that, should she again visit this State, she should not forget that she has friends in the 'Low Country' in a pleasant spot, from which our guns have, so far, with God's help, kept aloof our surrounding foe."⁵⁴

Gonzales rightly attributed responsibility to his command of the artillery for neutralizing the Union occupation of Charleston. The effective work of the harbor guns during the ironclad attack made it too costly for the North to ever attempt to fight their way in again. The land artillery had established killing fields that rendered virtually impossible the advancement of a superior Union force, turning the conflict into a war of attrition. As a result of this stalemate, the ironclad fleet, which had been prematurely ordered to the Gulf of Mexico in April 1863, remained in South Carolina for another year. This delayed the scheduled attacks against Wilmington, North Carolina, and Mobile, Alabama, until a new class of ironclads became operational in the summer of 1864. However, Davis was unmoved by the Gonzales letter and

routed it to General-in-Chief Braxton Bragg "for perusal." When the missive was returned to the president, he delayed answering for three months, like he had done with the previous Gonzales communication, and tersely replied on 2 May, "This being an unofficial letter...it requires no action that this office can take."⁵⁵

Bragg had meanwhile asked Beauregard to head the new Department of North Carolina and Southern Virginia against a Union offensive expected in May.⁵⁶ Command of the Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida passed to Major General Samuel Jones on 20 April 1864. Jones, a former West Point graduate and instructor, had been Beauregard's chief of artillery at the battle of First Manassas.⁵⁷

Gonzales traveled to Richmond, Virginia, during the last week of July 1864, and visited brother-in-law William Elliott, recuperating from a hernia operation in Jackson Hospital, near the city. Gonzales requested that since Elliott had a certificate of unfitness for cavalry service for six months, that he be detached from Frenholm's Battalion for that period, and reassigned to clerk duties in his office in Charleston. The transfer was quickly approved.⁵⁸

While in Richmond, Gonzales wrote on 13 August to Adjutant and Inspector General Samuel Cooper, in reference to his promotion application of the previous year. The Cuban indicated that for two years he had been senior colonel and department chief of artillery and commanded over 620 guns. He stated that other promotions had been made to lesser ranking artillery officers in his department based upon the strength of the number of guns under their control, and claimed advancement on the same principle.⁵⁹

Among the letters of recommendation sent by his superior officers, one from Beauregard affirmed that during the nineteen months he headed the Department of South Carolina, Georgia

and Florida, Gonzales "displayed great zeal, energy and intelligence, in the discharge of his laborious duties, thereby entitling himself, in my opinion, to promotion."⁶⁰ A missive from Pemberton to Secretary Seddon highly praised Gonzales for his experience, command and great responsibility, and asked his promotion to the rank of brigadier general.⁶¹ Pemberton had capitulated with his 20,000 men at Vicksburg a year earlier. He had recently resigned his lieutenant general's commission, but President Davis, who still held him in high esteem, gave him the rank of lieutenant colonel in the artillery corps.⁶² Although his hopes to achieve generalship were dashed once again, Gonzales did not lose enthusiasm for the cause.

Command of the Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida passed to Lieutenant General William J. Hardee on 5 October.⁶³ Six days later, Gonzales was appointed Hardee's chief of artillery. The staff included Medical Director T. L. Ogier, the physician who had attended the fatally ill William Elliott.⁶⁴ Gonzales was in Charleston on 22 October when he received the news that his wife had given birth to their first daughter, Gertrudis Rufini Gonzales.

Three weeks later, Gonzales sent a letter to Hardee's Assistant Adjutant General, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas B. Roy, to be submitted to Hardee, describing a new plan for mounting his artillery siege train on fifty platform railroad cars and two locomotives that he had already procured from Robert L. Singletary, the president of the Charleston & Savannah Rail Road. The projected flying column would be composed of two thousand men and two artillery batteries, stationed at Green Pond, a central point between Charleston and Savannah. Guns and ammunition would be kept always on the cars and special ramps would facilitate unloading at any point. Gonzales indicated that, from Green Pond, the flying artillery could reach by train within a half-an-hour to two hours, any one of what he considered to be the four probable

landing points for a large enemy force: "White Point on North Edisto, Field's Point on the Combahee, Mackey's Point on Graham's Neck, and Boyd's Landing on the Broad River."⁶⁵

Two weeks later, after it was erroneously reported that Union cavalry had crossed the Savannah River into South Carolina twenty miles below Augusta, Hardee wired at one a.m. from Savannah to Charleston District Commander General Samuel Jones: "Send Gonzales to me for a few days," and also urgently asked for entrenching tools and any available batteries of light guns.⁶⁶ Gonzales departed for Savannah by train on 28 November.⁶⁷

Meanwhile, U.S. General William T. Sherman was making his devastating march from Atlanta to Savannah. He had recently written to Major General John G. Foster, commanding the Department of the South, headquartered at Hilton Head Island, requesting that he send troops inland to cut the Charleston & Savannah Railroad around 1 December. This would impede reinforcements and supplies to Savannah from South Carolina and would eliminate the only escape route open to Hardee's army if they decided to retreat.

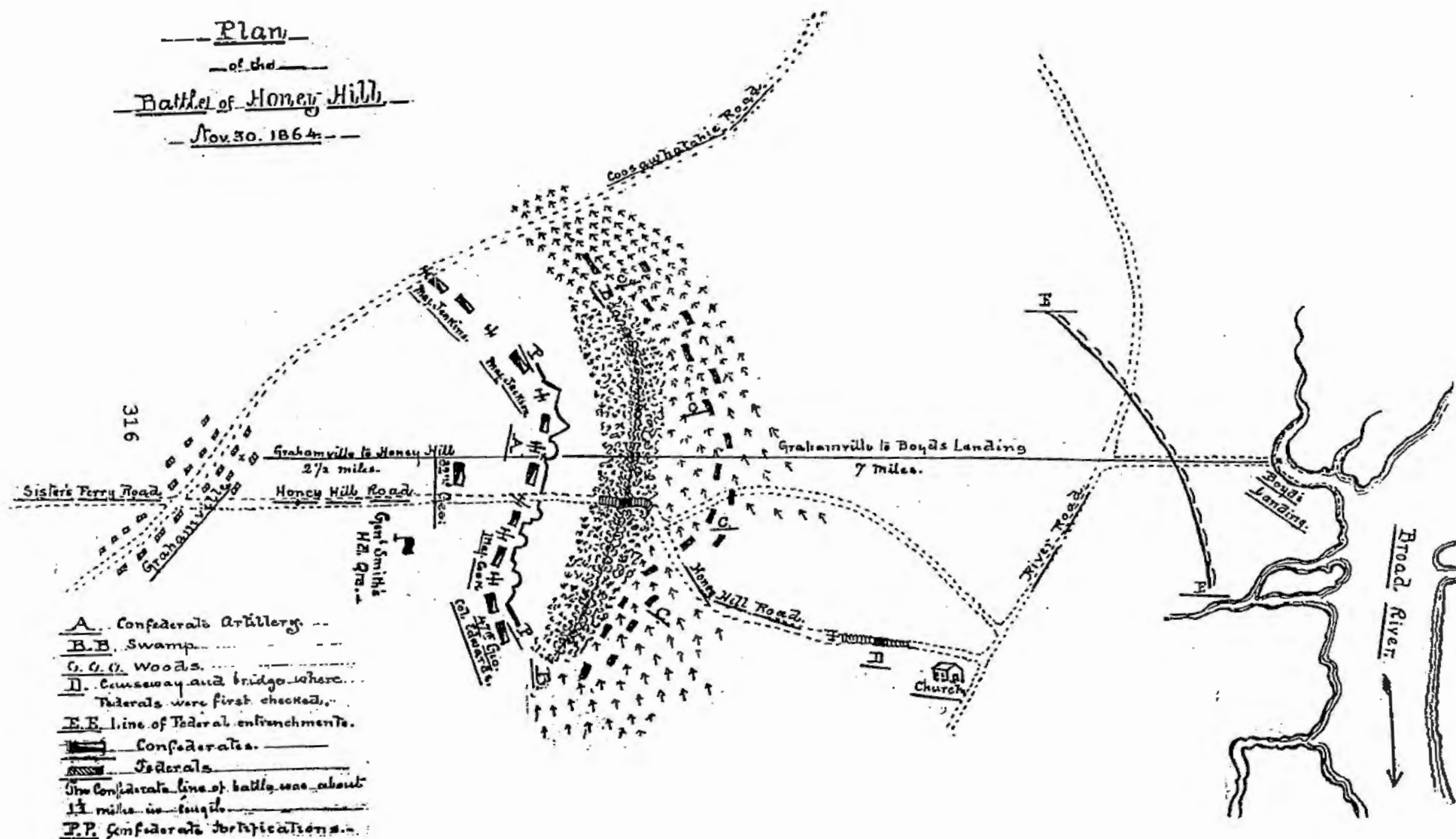
Foster consulted his map and thought it would be a simple operation. He was going to lead an expedition some twenty miles up the Broad River to Boyd's Landing, march nine miles west to a planter's resort called Grahamville, and uproot the train tracks. The department commander would employ all the troops at his disposal, two brigades of 5,000 infantry, cavalry and artillery, plus 492 sailors and marines.⁶⁸ The First Brigade, commanded by Brigadier General Edward E. Potter, was composed of the 56th New York, 127th New York, 144th New York, 157th New York, 25th Ohio, 32nd U.S. Colored Troops and 35th U.S. Colored Troops. The Second Brigade, led by Colonel Alfred S. Hartwell, included the 54th Massachusetts, 26th U.S. Colored Troops and 102nd U.S. Colored Troops. In addition, Lieutenant Colonel William

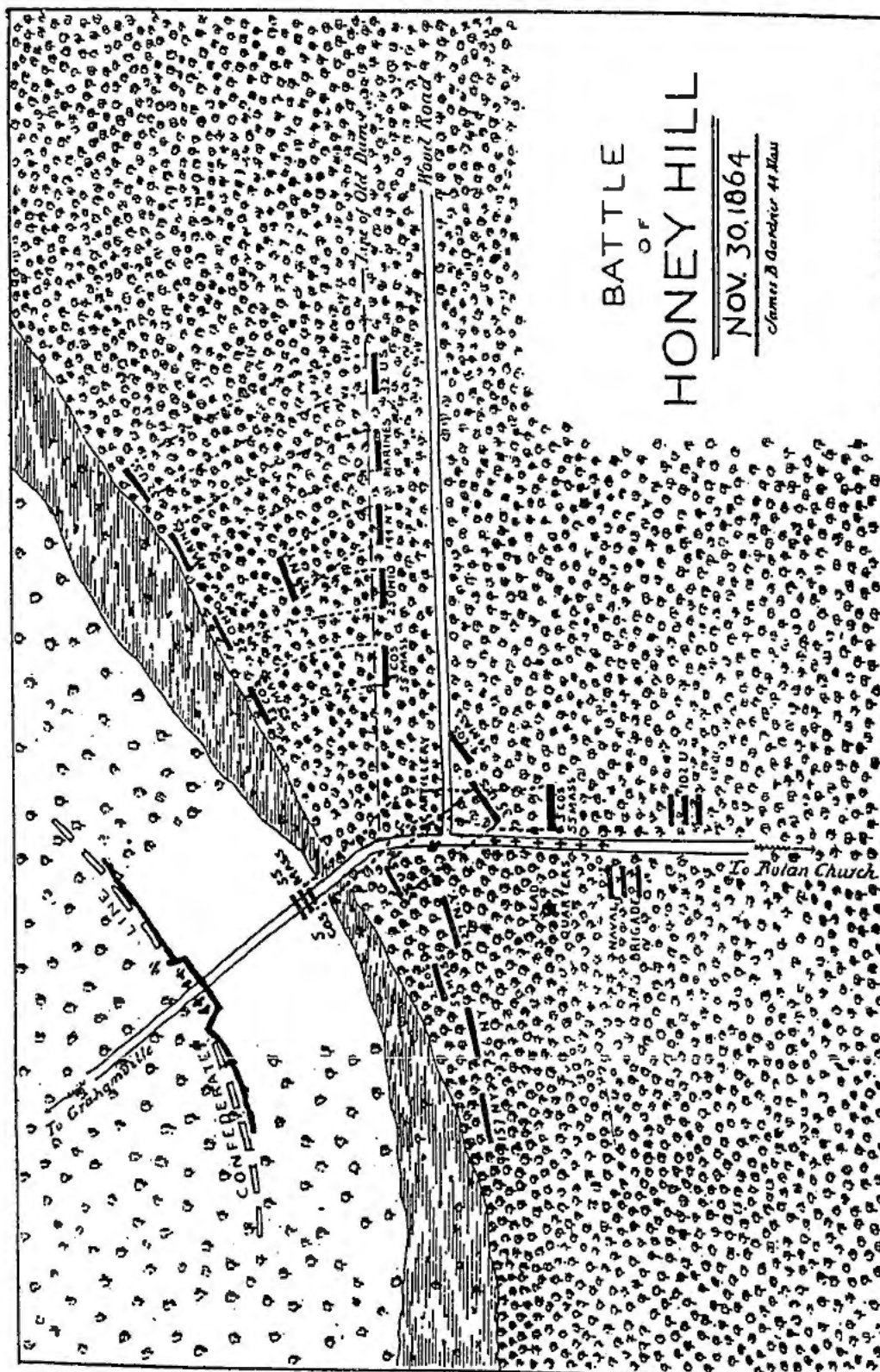
Ames was in charge of artillery Batteries B and F of the 3rd New York, and Battery A, 3rd Rhode Island. The Naval Brigade of 492 sailors and marines armed with twelve howitzers was headed by Commander George H. Preble. Captain George P. Hurlbut commanded four companies of the 4th Massachusetts cavalry. These forces totalled twelve regiments of infantry, three batteries of artillery, four companies of cavalry, a naval brigade, and six gunboats, the *Pawnee*, *Mingoe*, *Pontiac*, *Sonoma*, *Minona* and *Wissahickon*.⁶⁹

The signal flare to sail was fired from Foster's flagship at 2:30 a.m. on November 29, and the troop transports, protected by the gunboats, departed. As soon as they had advanced, a dense fog rolled into the river. On the advise of his pilot, Brigadier General John P. Hatch, commander of the Coast Division, Department of the South, ordered his steamer to drop anchor and wait until daylight. Other vessels also stopped, but those that decided to continue either grounded or mistakenly sailed up the Chechesse River.⁷⁰ Hatch's transport was the first to reach Boyd's Landing at 11 a.m. When Foster arrive there, he placed Hatch in command of the force and ordered him to cut the railroad, while Foster remained behind.⁷¹ This was one of the places that Gonzales had predicted weeks earlier that would be used for a disembarkment.

The lone Confederate sentry at the landing immediately warned the headquarters of the third military district of South Carolina at Grahamville. The person in charge was Lieutenant E. W. Fraser, the assistant adjutant general, until the return of district commander Colonel Charles Jones Colcock, who since the previous day was on a tour of inspection sixty miles away at Matthew's Bluff. Fraser notified Colcock by relay of couriers and then telegraphed Lieutenant General Hardee at Savannah, Major General Jones at Charleston and Major John Jenkins at Pocotaligo.⁷²

Plan
of the
Battle of Honey Hill
Nov. 30, 1864.





BATTLE OF HONEY HILL

NOV 30 1864

James B. Gardner 41 Mass

The first federal force to disembark at Boyd's was Preble's naval brigade. The sailors, pulling eight howitzers by hand, advanced 2.2 miles south on Boyd's Avenue, now called Salisbury Road, to where it ends at present-day Highway 462. Preble had been ordered by Hatch to wait for the army at the first crossroads he found, and the sailors dug an abatis for the artillery on each fork on the road. Since this was a "T" shaped intersection, and not the four-way crossroads he had seen on Hatch's crude map, Preble was unsure if he was at the right location.⁷³

Preble, accompanied by his adjutant and fifteen men, proceeded west on 462 for a few miles in search of the crossroads, but ran into a Confederate picket line at Bee's Creek manned by Captain H. C. Raysor and Company E, 2nd South Carolina Cavalry. The federals walked into a blast of canister shot from a Napoleon gun. After a brief exchange of gunfire, the sailors retreated to their defensive position, leaving behind a wounded comrade.⁷⁴

When commanding Major John Jenkins was notified of this encounter, he went to the telegraph station at Grahamville and notified General Hardee in Savannah and General Jones in Charleston: "Ten Gunboats, with transports and barges at Boyd's. Landing troops near Grahamville. Four Gunboats coming up Broad River to Mackey's Point, which is the approach to Pocotaligo and Coosawhatchie. Reinforcements needed." Hardee had Gonzales respond that he had just ordered Major General Gustavus W. Smith⁷⁵ and his Georgia Militia troops, on a train from Macon to Savannah, to be routed to Grahamville, and would arrive there the next morning. Smith's troops had been falling back from Atlanta, skirmishing with the advance of Sherman's "march to the sea."⁷⁶ Gonzales told Jenkins that local troops should check and delay the enemy's advance to prevent them from occupying the railroad before Smith's arrival. He also

asked to have horses ready for the general and his staff.⁷⁷ General Jones replied from Charleston that Jenkins should expect a reinforcement regiment at the Grahamville depot at eight o'clock the next morning.

Meanwhile, Preble's naval brigade had retreated to their entrenchments on Boyd's Avenue. They were soon joined by the Thirty-Second U.S. Colored Troops regiment, which had disembarked at the landing. With this added force, Preble decided to reconnoiter eastward on today's highway 462. Advancing a mile-and-a-half, they reached the Grahamville Road to the right (present day Highway 278), running south for five miles into Grahamville. On the southeast intersection corner was Bolan's church, founded in 1850. Today it is the First Euhaw Baptist Church, rebuilt in 1971. Although this was not a four-way crossroad, it seemed to Preble like a closer description of the area he was ordered to occupy.⁷⁸

While the advance guard started digging in, General Hatch arrived with General Potter and a detachment of cavalry and part of a brigade that had disembarked at four o'clock that afternoon. They consulted with Preble and decided that neither of their stopping places was the correct one leading to Grahamville. Their guide, a former runaway slave, upon reaching the church intersection, pretended to recognize the area and led the column east, away from Grahamville. He was described by the *New York Times* correspondent as "either faithless or ignorant," after taking them into a marsh at one o'clock in the morning.⁷⁹ Hatch then determined that they were heading in the wrong direction and ordered a four-and-a-half-mile countermarch to the church, where they camped. The troops were exhausted after marching fifteen miles and having been up most of the previous night on the transports.⁸⁰ Had they initially taken the right fork on the road, they would have reached Grahamville with little or no opposition.

Colonel Colcock was notified by courier around 6 p.m. on the 29th of the enemy disembarkment. On his return to Grahamville he left a message in Robertsville to postpone his wedding planned for the following day. After riding all night, accompanied by an aide, Colcock arrived at his district headquarters at sunrise. The telegraph operator informed him of the messages received and said that the last one indicated that General Gustavus W. Smith and a brigade of Georgia militia had passed Hardeeville by train and were expected in Grahamville at any moment.⁸¹

The vanguard of Georgia reinforcements arrived in Grahamville on the Charleston & Savannah Railroad at eight o'clock that Wednesday morning. Colonel Gonzales, who had been ordered by Hardee to accompany Smith, introduced him to Colonel Colcock, Major Jenkins, and Colcock's adjutant-general, Captain Louis De Saussure.⁸² Colcock announced that some of his cavalry companies with a few pieces of artillery were already skirmishing with the rapidly advancing enemy, and he was going to join them. Colcock was accompanied by his staff, which included Captain William Waight Elliott, son of Thomas R. S. Elliott, the brother-in-law of Colonel Gonzales. Smith asked Colcock to select a battle position for his vanguard, while he awaited the second train bringing the rest of his troops.

Colcock chose the earthworks that had been built three years earlier by Colonel Clingman, by order of General Lee. Honey Hill was a ten-foot-high ridge, rising from the shore of a small stream, which intersected at right angles the Grahamville Road. A crescent-shaped entrenchment had been built on its crest, with five openings for artillery positions. Along its north end ran a thirty-inch rifle pit that stretched for miles, curving northwestward, to the road from Bee's Creek to Grahamville, which is today's Highway 13. The south end of the fortifications terminated

abruptly in a dense swamp.⁸³

Smith later wrote in his battle report: "Colonel Colcock, the commander of the district and next officer in rank upon the field to myself, was assigned to the immediate executive command of the main line; Colonel Gonzales was placed in charge of the artillery, and Major Jenkins of all the cavalry; Captain De Saussure, who was thoroughly acquainted with the whole country, remained near me."⁸⁴ Gonzales was also very familiar with the area, having spent more than a month in late 1861 supervising the construction of defenses in the area. He accompanied Colcock to the trenches to direct the deployment of five artillery pieces. Due to its defensive position, the artillery was assigned the principal role, while the troops were placed in subordinate protective positions. Gonzales checked that the batteries were not encumbered by musketry defense within their limits, as the proper place for riflemen was on the flanks, and in sufficient numbers to prevent the artillery being overrun. He verified that the five guns were spread out enough so that a successful enemy charge would not capture them all at once. He made sure that the cannons had a good sweep over the approach route, covering the ground intervening between them. Limbers and caissons were positioned to provide easy access to ammunition. Gonzales reviewed the quality and quantity of shells, gunpowder and friction primers on hand, as well as an ocular inspection of the guns and their carriages. He looked for flaws and scarcely perceptible cracks on the bronze cannons, any weakness in the vents, or warped trunnions, all of which through continued firing could cause major damage and inoperability. Gonzales assured that no other troops were positioned behind the guns, where they would be exposed to the enemy return-fire. The chief of artillery then gave a complete report to General Smith at his headquarters behind the lines. Since the rest of the reinforcements from Georgia and Charleston had not arrived yet,

Colcock ordered Lt. C. J. Zealy to take a 12-pounder Napoleon from Kanapaux's Battery, along with Captain William B. Peeples, in charge of Company K, 3rd South Carolina Cavalry, and delay the Federal advance.

Union troops had departed from Bolan's church at eight o'clock that morning, and after marching south for about a mile-and-a-half, sighted the first right bend of the Grahamville Road. The narrow causeway was surrounded by marsh on one side and a field of tall broom sedge on the other. The black soldiers of the Thirty-Second were in the vanguard, without scouts or flankers, loudly singing.⁸⁵ Behind the bend, Zealy had placed his cannon on a commanding position on a slight elevation, close to the entrance of today's Good Hope Plantation. The first shell fired at 9:15 a.m. cut a swath through the unsuspecting federal column, resulting in nine casualties. Before the panic subdued, the Confederates fired three more shells, the last of which killed thirteen men.⁸⁶ The bluecoats regrouped into a line of battle and responded with two guns of Battery B, 3rd New York Artillery, under Lt. Edward A. Wildt. Zealy retreated to another point where he was joined by one gun from Earle's Battery, commanded by Lt. E. H. Graham, and an artillery duel ensued between opposing sides.

The Union advance had been delayed one hour, but the Confederates needed more time for reinforcements to arrive. Colcock, accompanied by Captain Elliott and other members of his staff, galloped to the front line, and surveyed the scene. He ordered Elliott to set fire to the field of broom grass on which the federals were advancing. A favorable wind fanned the flames and cleared the field of soldiers, hampering their progress.⁸⁷ At ten o'clock a courier informed Colcock that the second Georgia brigade had arrived by train and General Smith was leading them to the Honey Hill fortifications. Some 1,400 Confederate troops with five light artillery

pieces occupied the entrenchments on both sides of the Grahamville Road.⁸⁸

Colcock then ordered a withdrawal to the rear positions. After retreating half way, Zealy was ordered to make a stand at a bend in the road. Further shelling mortally wounded Lt. Edward A. Wildt, Third New York Artillery, as he sighted one of his guns.⁸⁹ Zealy finally pulled his Napoleon gun back to the Honey Hill redoubt.

The regrouped Union forces found it difficult to take the Confederate position, in front of which ran a small stream bounded by a marsh with thick undergrowth, which became a troublesome obstacle to surpass under enemy fire. Repeated federal charges were driven back by the artillery and musketry of the Carolinians and Georgians. Captain Hal M. Stuart, of the Beaufort Volunteer Artillery, later recalled that during these five-minute charges, Confederate guns were firing double-headed canister at the rate of five times per minute.⁹⁰ The bodies of Union soldiers began stacking up in front of the earthworks. One Confederate who later viewed them said that the black troops had their pockets "full of money" and superstitiously adorned their caps with a sprig of the herb Life Everlasting.⁹¹ A correspondent for the Confederate *Savannah Republican* reported that, "The gallant Col. Gonzales was an active participant in the fight, and might have been seen everywhere along the line posting the guns, and encouraging the troops."⁹² Gonzales rode on horseback up and down the defense line, reviewing enemy damage to the artillery positions, monitoring the ammunition on hand, and making sure that reserve artillerists were relieving the gun crews at proper intervals and replacing those who had been wounded. Gonzales scanned the battlefield with his field glasses, to assure that all five artillery pieces were coordinating their concentration of fire.

The federals made two direct charges and an abortive third try before attempting an

advance and flank movement on the right through the swamp, but were driven back by the 47th Georgia. Then they moved against the left flank rifle pits occupied by Company B, 3rd South Carolina Cavalry, but withdrew after sustaining over one hundred casualties.⁹³ General Hatch finally ordered a retreat to Bolan's church at 7:20 p.m. According to General Foster, his losses were 88 killed, 43 missing and 623 wounded.⁹⁴ Confederate casualties were described by General Smith as eight killed and forty-two wounded.⁹⁵ Union troops remained entrenched in the area for weeks but were unable to cut the Charleston and Savannah railroad.

Gonzales was at the Pocotaligo headquarters of General Jones on 15 December, when he received a telegram from Beauregard, requesting his immediate presence in Charleston to discuss the armament Gonzales had requested.⁹⁶ Beauregard had received command two months earlier of a new department called Military Division of the West, which extended from the Georgia coast to the Mississippi. He had just established temporary headquarters in Charleston, when the appearance of Sherman at the gates of Savannah, forced his immediate departure for that city at the request of Hardee.⁹⁷ Four days later, Hardee evacuated his forces from Savannah to Hardeeville, crossing the Savannah River on a hastily constructed pontoon bridge, abandoning 167 spiked pieces of artillery and dumping the ammunition in the water.⁹⁸ During the siege of Savannah, Gonzales' railroad "flying artillery" idea had been put to the test: "Sherman's men marveled at the Confederate battery that had been mounted on a railroad car; it was moved from one front to another with celerity, firing accurately into exposed groups of men and generally harassing the Union army." Hardee gets credit from his biographer for this idea of Gonzales.⁹⁹

After the evacuation of Savannah, Beauregard decided that a new defense line of twenty-five hundred troops would be established in South Carolina on the Combahee River, with a

reserve force of one thousand between them and the Ashepoo River, against an expected onslaught of Sherman's forces. On 20 December he issued a number of military orders from his headquarters at Pocotaligo, including one for Gonzales to assign the South Carolina field artillery "to the most appropriate positions for the defence of the 4th Sub District and the line of the Combahee from Salkehatchie Bridge to the coast, taking care to assign the batteries to the positions with which their respective commanders are most familiar." With Hardee's approval, Gonzales was to also assign the field batteries retrieved from Savannah to the same positions and to Augusta.¹⁰⁰ The next day, Hardee turned over to Gonzales at Pocotaligo fourteen of the forty-nine light artillery pieces withdrawn from Savannah. The others were distributed to troops at Hardeeville, New River, Honey Hill, Coosawhatchie, to General Wheeler, and to the militia accompanying Smith's Division.¹⁰¹

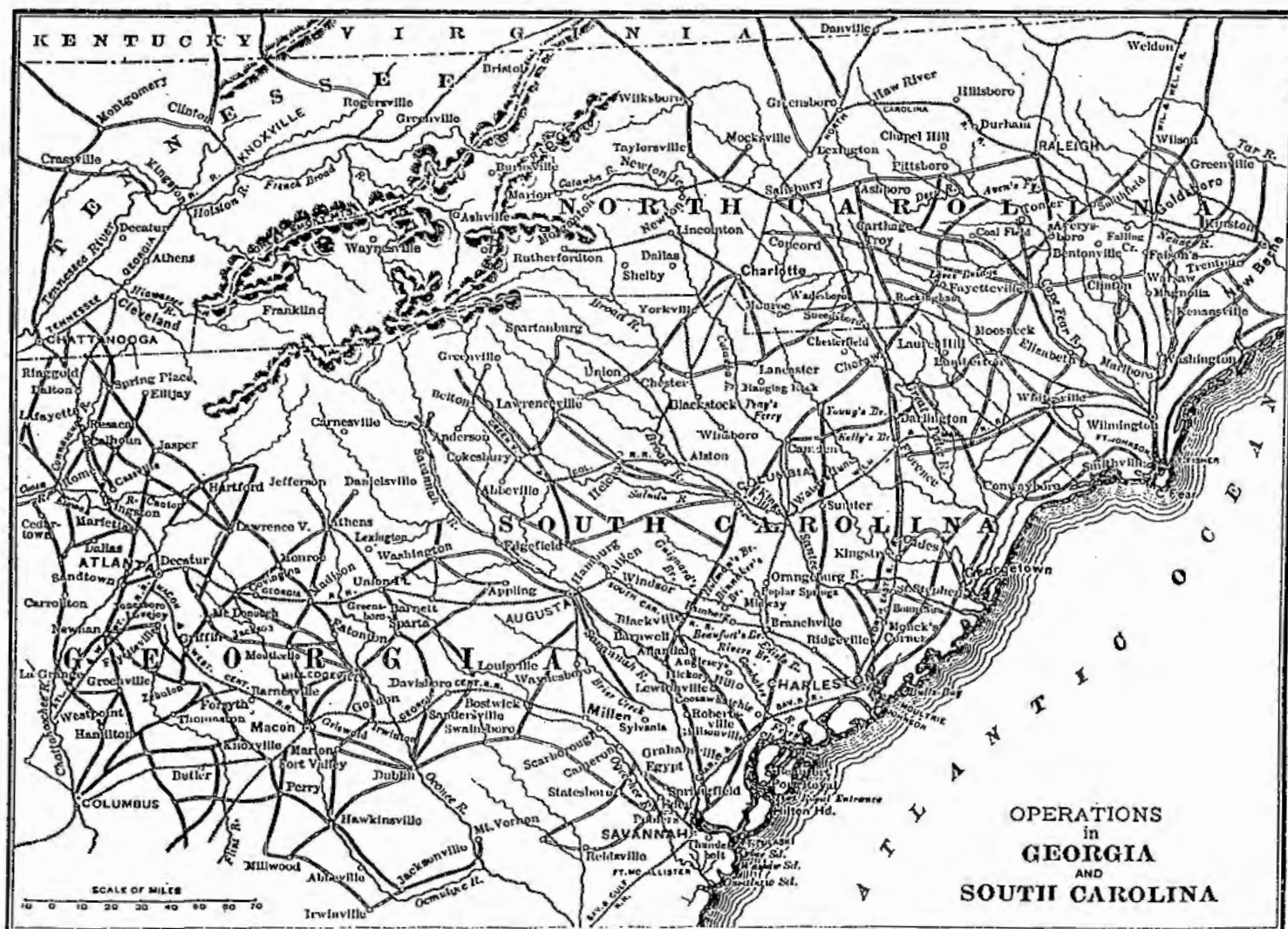
The new defense line would be commanded by Major General Lafayette McLaws, who would relieve Major General Sam Jones at Pocotaligo, allowing him to proceed to Charleston and resume command of the department. Beauregard ordered the retreating Cavalry on 20 December to apply a scorched earth policy before the enemy by driving off "all cattle, sheep and hogs, not necessary for its consumption, and impress and send to Charleston, to be turned over to the Chief Engineer, all negroes [*sic*] capable of bearing arms." He also ordered the destruction of every mill, boat and building that could be used by the Union forces for military purposes, and all surplus rice, corn and provisions beyond what was necessary for their troops, the owners, their families and slaves.¹⁰² The next day, Beauregard told Hardee to "impress all negro men, teams, wagons, and supplies *not* removed by owners in section of Country about to be abandoned to Enemy -- destroy all Bridges and Trestles behind you."¹⁰³ Hardee soon had the countryside stripped up

to the Combahee River defense line.¹⁰⁴

Assuming that Sherman would next smash the "cradle of the Confederacy," Beauregard on 27 December directed Hardee to "silently and cautiously" prepare the evacuation of Charleston. Light artillery batteries were to be organized into battalions of three batteries each, with one battalion assigned to each division. Gonzales would command all others in reserve. Beauregard showed great faith in the military capabilities of the Chief of Artillery when he instructed that these newly organized battalions, although controlled by the Division commanders, would make all their returns and reports to Gonzales, who would also be privy to all other correspondence related to their management. When not on the field, all the batteries would be commanded by the Chief of Artillery.¹⁰⁵

Beauregard had recently asked to be relieved of the general command of the Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, because he wanted to reorganize in Tupelo the remnants of the Army of Tennessee, which General John Hood had badly led at the battle of Nashville two weeks earlier. President Davis granted his request on 30 December, giving Beauregard command of the district west of Augusta and directing him to give Hardee orders and instructions for the Department west of Augusta.¹⁰⁶

The following day, Beauregard informed Hardee to apply to Charleston the same principle he used in Savannah: "defend it as long as compatible with the safety of your forces." He indicated that while the fall of Charleston would be a "terrible blow to the Confederacy," more fatal to the cause would be "the loss of its brave garrison." Prior to evacuation, all cotton was to be removed and any remaining destroyed. Depots of provisions and forage were to be established at Columbia and Florence for the retreating troops.¹⁰⁷



Major General Sam Jones reviewed the rolls of Confederate forces in South Carolina on 2 January 1865, totalling 10,929 infantry, 5,994 cavalry and 1,909 artillery, and realized he was outnumbered by more than three to one.¹⁰⁸ That same day, Sherman informed Grant that he would use part of his sixty thousand troops to make feints toward Charleston on the right and Augusta on the left, while the bulk of his army headed for Columbia.¹⁰⁹ Sherman told his officers that South Carolina should be punished for having started the war, and the more private property they destroyed, the better.¹¹⁰ Sherman's right flank, commanded by Howard in Beaufort, moved against Pocotaligo on 13 January and the Union navy shelled the Charleston seaboard.¹¹¹

Five days later, Gonzales wrote from Charleston to his mother-in-law at Oak Lawn, urging that it was "a question of very few days" before Charleston would be evacuated and that there was not a minute to lose "for things material or immaterial." The plantation lay forty miles west of Pocotaligo, on the road to Charleston. Gonzales indicated that the South Carolina Rail Road would be running the next evening and that everything to be vacated from Oak Lawn "shall go *at once*" on that route. He asked that Hattie, the children and their nurse, join him immediately, with whatever bedding, indispensable crockery and utensils they could carry, and that the rest of the family should follow as soon as possible. Gonzales asked Mrs. Elliott to accompany Hattie if she was not needed at home because at Charleston she would be "on the way to any point and in case of a miracle like that of the parting of the Red Sea might go back to Oak Lawn." The sixty-two-year-old matriarch had been reluctant to relocate until her cattle and cotton were moved to the countryside. Gonzales admonished his family, "You are all behind time in every thing that has had to be done, and I fear that unless someone gives you all a military order to do so, at the

imminent risk of his head & reputation from a feminine courtmartial you will not be moved in time."¹¹²

Gonzales suggested that Mrs. Elliott send her chief clerk to negotiate the sale of her cotton for sterling with W. T. J. O. Woodward, the agent of various blockade running companies in Charleston. Before the war, Woodward was agent of the Adams Express Company and had been involved with Gonzales in selling and delivering Maynard rifles.¹¹³ During the war, Woodward had been the agent of the Southern Express Company in Nassau, Bahamas, and advertised in the local newspaper the shipping of goods to Charleston.¹¹⁴ Woodward was indebted to Gonzales, who had recently obtained for him the protection of all his wagons, teams, wagoners and a pass to Cheraw. He offered to send the Elliott cotton to Nassau at the lower rate of two bales for one, instead of the usual three to one exchange fee, and asked that the offer be kept secret. Blockade running into Charleston was successfully being done in small private vessels. There had been thirty-eight runs in 1864 and although the fall of Savannah and Wilmington had added more Union warships on the coast of Charleston, four other vessels managed to enter the port in January.¹¹⁵ Gonzales concluded the letter to his mother-in-law saying that he was "overwhelmed with labor...in such a crisis" and had great "anxiety at seeing you still at Oak Lawn with uncertainties before you & so much yet undone."¹¹⁶

Eleven days later, Emmie and the house servants were the only ones left at Oak Lawn, making final departure preparations. She wrote to her mother on 29 January, "T'is a splendid morning, frost over everything & cannon firing in the direction of White Point, but they sound like ours." Emmie was using the railroad to keep her family in Charleston supplied with fish, fowls, potatoes, milk and wood for cooking and heating, and Gonzales had the goods retrieved

from the depot in his wagon.¹¹⁷

When the Salkehatchie defense line collapsed a few days later, Gonzales decided to remove his family from Charleston. Unable to secure shelter for them, on 10 February he hurriedly wrote to Colonel Allan Macfarlan, president of the Cheraw & Darlington Rail Road Company, a good friend of Ralph Elliott, with whom he had a previous slight acquaintance. Gonzales told Macfarlan that the Elliott women and his children would leave in a day or two for Cheraw and asked him to procure for them a house in that city or in a nearby farm. Their house servants would accompany the wagons with provisions, bedding and some furniture.¹¹⁸

That same day, as the Confederacy was collapsing fast all around them, Gonzales made a final bid for promotion of rank with the help of Pemberton, who had recently been appointed inspector general of artillery in Charleston.¹¹⁹ In a telegram to Adjutant & Inspector General Cooper in Richmond, Pemberton indicated that he had 106 guns organized and equipped as mounted artillery, which lacked a general or field officer to serve them. He requested that a Brigadier General be at once appointed to their command, and highly recommended Gonzales to the position. Hardee endorsed the petition adding, "Col. Gonzales is Chief of Artillery in this Dept. & his long experience, his thorough & practical knowledge of Artillery, & his great industry and zeal, fully entitle him to the position of Brig. General of Artillery."¹²⁰

The request was forwarded to Secretary of War Seddon who, in turn, submitted it to Jefferson Davis. The Confederate president responded that an inquiry should be made as to the brigadier generals "fit for artillery command and who are available for this position," and suggested that General Josiah Gorgas, Chief of Ordnance of the Confederate States, make the choice. Gorgas, who remembered the controversy he had with Gonzales over ordnance supplies

two years earlier, recommended Brigadier General Francis A. Shoup, who had fought at Shiloh as Hardee's chief of artillery, had been captured with Pemberton at Vicksburg and later exchanged. While Beauregard had delegated great responsibility on his chief of artillery six weeks earlier, Gorgas resentfully claimed, "Col. Gonzales is, in my opinion, not fitted for the position, and in this opinion I am joined by Genl. Gilmer, Chief Engineer, who had better opportunities than myself to observe Col. Gonzales professionally."¹²¹ For the six time in four years, Gonzales' aspirations were frustrated, but he had never been a quitter, and was not about to abandon the Confederate cause at its worst moment.

Beauregard returned to Charleston on 14 February at the request of Hardee, who had been told by Davis to hold the city. He ordered the evacuation of Charleston that same day so that Hardee's troops would not be cut off from the rear, the fate suffered by the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War. In April 1780, British troops had laid siege to Charleston from the north, forcing General Benjamin Lincoln to surrender 5,500 officers and men. In Charleston, the systematic destruction of anything valuable to the enemy began on the night of the 17th. Huge piles of cotton in the public squares and thousands of bushels of rice were set ablaze as was the bridge over the Ashley River. Loud explosions rocked the city as the vessels *Palmetto State*, *Chicora* and *Charleston* were scuttled at their docks, and the large Blakely gun on the Battery was blown to pieces.¹²² The fall of Charleston was a psychological blow, signifying the end of the war for many. South Carolina Governor Andrew G. Magrath called the military withdrawal the "death march of the Confederation."¹²³

Gonzales accompanied Hardee's General Staff out of Charleston, heading for Greensboro, North Carolina, by way of Cheraw. Many of the Carolinians, worried about their families being

in Sherman's path of destruction, deserted before crossing the Santee River on 25 February. That same day, General Joseph E. Johnston assumed command of the retreating army. With Sherman snapping at his heels, Hardee crossed into North Carolina and met Johnston at Fayetteville on 9 March.¹²⁴ Gonzales was appointed Chief of Artillery to General Johnston, who set up headquarters in Raleigh, North Carolina, trying to impede Sherman's march north. The invincible Union army reached Goldsboro, North Carolina, on 23 March, after cutting a swath up to sixty miles wide across the Carolinas.¹²⁵ Sherman then went to the coast and took a ship to Virginia to consult on final strategy with General Grant and President Lincoln, who was visiting. Sherman wanted to crush Lee in Virginia, but Grant did not need any help. Lincoln was not specific on the terms of surrender Sherman should demand. Sherman was back in Goldsboro on 30 March, organizing his enlarged force of ninety thousand to move on Raleigh.¹²⁶

The next day, Beauregard sent a telegram to Gonzales in Hillsborough, warning that Stoneman's raiders were reported marching on Salisbury, from where they could then easily attack his position. Beauregard advised Gonzales to be ready to move his artillery back to Raleigh or Smithfield.¹²⁷ Gonzales remained at Hillsborough until Johnston capitulated to Sherman at Greensboro, on 26 April. Confederate officers were allowed to keep their sidearms and their horse after signing a parole. The route Gonzales used to return home remains obscure. In all likelihood, he probably departed with Beauregard and his staff, who headed South on 1 May by way of South Carolina.¹²⁸

After the Civil War, Gonzales avoided involvement in the controversies which raged over responsibility for Confederate defeat. Though he was a voluminous writer, Gonzales did not pen memoirs even though such works became popular among former Confederate officers during the

"War of the Reminiscences." When General Thomas Jordan and some other Confederate officers attacked the imprisoned Jefferson Davis in articles for having lost the war, Gonzales kept silent toward the man who five times denied his ambition of achieving the rank of general in the Confederacy. Davis, a reputedly unforgiving man, had second thoughts about his bitterness toward Gonzales after reconciling while on a visit to Cuba in 1868. Two years later, Davis publicly described Gonzales as "A soldier under two flags but one cause; that of community independence."¹²⁹

NOTES

1. Burton, *The Siege of Charleston 1861-1865*, 135.
2. Stephen R. Wise, "The Gate of Hell: Battery Wagner and the Campaign for Charleston," unpublished manuscript, 23-24.
3. Larry J. Daniel and Riley W. Gunter, *Confederate Cannon Foundries* (Union City, Tenn.: Pioneer Press, 1977), 66.
4. AJG to J. Gorgas, 29 December 1862, OR, I (14), 745-747.
5. G. T. Beauregard to J. Gorgas, 27 December 1862, RG 109, II (22), 334.
6. J. Gorgas to AJG, 6 January 1863, OR, I (14), 745-747.
7. G. T. Beauregard to General Samuel Cooper, 6 January 1863, RG 109, II (22), 389-390.
8. Genl. Beauregard to Adjutant & Inspector General's Office, 27 January 1863, RG 109, II (30), 391.
9. 12 February 1863, RG 109, II (20), 200.
10. Genl. Beauregard to AJG, 12 February 1863, RG 109, II (25), 162.
11. R. S. Ripley to Dept. Head Quarters, 22 March 1863, *Ibid.*, 273-274.
12. *Ibid.*, and Thomas Jordan to AJG, 1 April 1863, RG 109, II (31), 31.
13. RG 109, II (27), 63-64.
14. *Ibid.*, (25), 316.
15. RG 109, Endorsements 1863, Chapt. 2, Vol. 25, 300.
16. G. T. Beauregard, "Defense of Charleston, South Carolina," *North American Review*, May 1886, 432.
17. Samuel Jones, *The Siege of Charleston* (New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1911), 168-169; Daniel Ammen, *The Navy in the Civil War: The Atlantic Coast* (New York: 1905), 91-92, 101; E. Milby Burton, *The Siege of Charleston 1861-1865*, 136-137.
18. Jones, *The Siege of Charleston*, 170-178; and Ammen, *The Navy in the Civil War*, 93-99.
19. OR, I (14), 241-242.
20. United States War Department, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, XIV (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894-1927), 230.
21. Beauregard to Samuel Cooper, 19 May 1863, The Papers of P. G. T. Beauregard, Reel 8, Frame 726, LC.
22. AJG to Thomas Jordan, 13 April 1863, R.G. 109, Letters Received by the Adjutant & Inspector General, G-666.

23. OR, Navy, XIV, 230.
24. *Ibid.*, 316.
25. RG 109, II, (31), 121-122, 140.
26. RG 109, AJG to Thomas Jordan, 2 May 1863, CMR; RG 109, Chapt. II, Vol. 20, 546; and RG 109, Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, Special Orders 1863-1864, Special Order Number 97, box 66.
27. General Orders No. 72, 27 May 1863, RG 109, Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, General Orders 1861-64, box 65.
28. Ripley, *Siege Train*, vii-viii, 253.
29. *Ibid.*, 281.
30. OR, I (28), 349.
31. *Ibid.*, Part 2, 185.
32. Ripley, *Siege Train*, 1.
33. Diary of Major Edward Manigault, 10 July 1863, in possession of Peter Manigault, Charleston, S.C.
34. RG 109, II (26), 161.
35. Genl. Beauregard to Brig. Genl. R. S. Ripley, 27 January 1863, RG 109, II (30), 387; and *Ibid.*, II (20), 193.
36. Milton F. Perry, *Infernal Machines: The Story of Confederate Submarine and Mine Warfare* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965), 58-60. This work relied on the edited *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* for its version of the origin of the land mines at Battery Wagner, which omit the Gonzales recommendation.
37. *Ibid.*, 58.
38. OR, I (28), 406, 550.
39. RG 109, II (26), 225.
40. Manigault Diary, 26 July 1863.
41. RG 109, II (26), 200.
42. RG 109, Department Special Orders 1863-64, No. 152, Box 66.
43. OR, I (28), Part 2, 266-267.
44. RG 109, II (31), 415.
45. AJG to James A. Seddon, 19 August 1863, CMR.

46. *Ibid.*, AJG to Jefferson Davis, 25 August 1863.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*, AJG to Thomas Jordan, 24 November 1863.
49. RG 109, Military Departments, Special Orders 1863-64, No. 258, Box 66.
50. RG 109, Telegrams Sent, July 1863-Feb. 1864, Chapt. 2, Vol. 45, 133.
51. This portrait survived the war and is presently in the possession of his great-grandson, Dr. Ambrose Gonzales Hampton.
52. The house presently stands before Colonial Lake, which was created from a landfill.
53. AJG to Jefferson Davis, 7 February 1864, RG 109, Letters Received by the Adjutant & Inspector General, Roll 113, G-666-1864.
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*
56. Williams, *Beauregard*, 207.
57. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 166.
58. AJG to Lt. Col. Fd. A. Palfrey, 30 July 1864, RG 109, Letters Received by the Adjutant & Inspector General, roll 110, E-433, frame 44.
59. AJG to Samuel Cooper, 13 August 1864, CMR.
60. *Ibid.*, Beauregard to Cooper, 6 August 1864.
61. *Ibid.*, Pemberton to Seddon, 16 August 1864.
62. Freeman, *Pemberton*, 262.
63. Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr., *General William J. Hardee: Old Reliable* (Wilmington, N.C.: Broadfoot Publishing Company, reprint 1987), 250-251.
64. General Orders No. 76, 11 October 1864, RG 109, II (258 1/2).
65. AJG to Lt. Col. T. B. Roy, 11 November 1864, Ambrosio José Gonzales Papers, SCL.
66. OR, I, (44), 902.
67. R.G. 109, Papers of Various Confederate Notables, Major General Sam Jones, Telegrams and Letters Received, 1864-1865, Box 9-A.
68. OR, I, (44), 420.

69. *Ibid.*, 421; Charles J. Colcock, Jr., "The Battle of Honey Hill," *The Sunday News* (Charleston, S.C.), 10 December 1899.
70. *Ibid.*
71. O.R., I (44), 420; and "Gen. Foster's Operations: The Battle of Honey Hill," *New York Times*, 9 December 1864, 1.
72. Colcock, Jr., "The Battle of Honey Hill."
73. OR, Navy, 79.
74. Colcock, Jr., "The Battle of Honey Hill"; John Jenkins' Narrative of Honey Hill, n.d., John Jenkins Papers, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, S.C.
75. Gustavus Woodson Smith was a Kentucky native who had graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1842 and had fought in the Mexican War. In 1848 he was assistant professor in engineering and the art of war at West Point, when General Worth introduced him to Ambrosio Gonzales. Smith resigned his position in December 1854 and moved to New Orleans, where he joined General John A. Quitman in a Cuba filibuster expedition that was neutralized by the Pierce Administration. In September 1861, Smith was named major-general in the Confederate Army, but quit seventeen months later, claiming that President Davis interfered with his command and promoted six officers over his head. Smith then served briefly as a volunteer aide to Beauregard in Charleston. Since June 1864 he had been commanding the 1st Division of Georgia Militia, with the rank of major-general. Hudson, "The life and career of Gustavus Woodson Smith."
76. Gustavus W. Smith, "The Georgia Militia During Sherman's March to the Sea," *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, IV (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, Inc., 1956), 667.
77. "John Jenkins' Narrative of Honey Hill."
78. *Ibid.*
79. "The Battle of Honey Hill," *The New York Times*, 9 December 1864, 1.
80. OR, I (44), 422.
81. Colcock, Jr., "The Battle of Honey Hill."
82. OR, I (44), 415; and "John Jenkins' Narrative of Honey Hill."
83. The remains of these fortifications were inspected by this writer in December 1991, with the assistance of Gregory Lane, a Civil War buff from Yemassee, South Carolina.
84. OR, I (44), 416.
85. George W. Williams, *A History of Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion 1861-1865* (New York: Harper & brothers, 1888), 210.
86. Colcock, Jr., "The Battle of Honey Hill."
87. *Ibid.*

88. OR, I (44), 416. Confederate forces participating in the Battle of Honey Hill consisted of: *Infantry*--The First Brigade Georgia Militia, Colonel Willis; the State Line Brigade (Georgia), Colonel Wilson; the Seventeenth Georgia, Confederate Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Edwards; The Thirty-second Georgia, Confederate Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Bacon; the Athens Battalion, Major Cook; the Augusta Battalion, Major Jackson. *Cavalry*--Companies B and E, and detachments from Company C and the Rebel Troop, all belonging to the Third Regiment South Carolina Cavalry, commanded by Major Jenkins. *Artillery*--A section of the Beaufort Artillery, Captain Stuart; a section of De Pass's Light Battery; a section of the Lafayette Artillery; one gun from Kanapaux's Light Battery. C. C. Jones, Jr., "The Battle of Honey Hill," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, January-December 1885, 364.
89. *Ibid.*, 422-423; Luis F. Emilio, *History of the Fifty-Fourth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, 1863-1865* (Boston: The Boston Book Company, 1894), 241-242; and Carse, *Department of the South*, 140.
90. Colcock, Jr., "The Battle of Honey Hill."
91. Carse, *Department of the South*, 141-142.
92. "The Battle of Honey Hill," *The Savannah Republican*, 3 December 1864, 1. This article was later reprinted in *The Charleston Daily Courier*, 5 December 1864, 1.
93. Colcock, Jr., "The Battle of Honey Hill."
94. OR, I (44), 420.
95. *Ibid.*, 416. See also "List of Wounded in the Forty-Seventh Georgia Regiment," *The Savannah Republican*, 2 December 1864, 1.
96. Beauregard to Gonzales, 15 December 1864, P.G.T. Beauregard Papers, LC.
97. Williams, P.G.T. Beauregard, 247.
98. "Confidential Circular," Head Quarters, Savannah, Ga., Lt. Genl. Hardee, 19 December 1864, Jefferson Davis Papers, Tulane University; and S. M. Bowman and R. B. Irwin, *Sherman and His Campaigns: A Military Biography* (New York: Charles B. Richardson, 1865), 297.
99. Hughes, *Hardee*, 271.
100. "Memorandum of orders to be issued by Lieut. Genl. Hardee immediately after the evacuation of Savannah," Pocotaligo, 20 December 1864, G. T. Beauregard, General, Jefferson Davis Papers, Tulane University.
101. Hardee telegram to Beauregard, 21 December 1864, P.G.T. Beauregard Papers, DUL.
102. "Memorandum of orders to be issued by Lieut. Genl. Hardee immediately after the evacuation of Savannah," Pocotaligo, 20 December 1864, G. T. Beauregard, General, Jefferson Davis Papers, Tulane University.
103. Beauregard to Hardee, 21 December 1864, P.G.T. Beauregard Papers, LC.
104. Hughes, *Hardee*, 274.
105. J.W.W. Otey, A.A.G., to Hardee, 27 December 1864, Jefferson Davis Papers, Tulane University.
106. Davis to Beauregard, 30 December 1864, *Ibid.*

107. Beauregard to Hardee, 31 December 1864, *Ibid.*
108. "Return of the Forces in South Carolina, January 2nd, 1865," *Ibid.*
109. John F. Marszalek, *Sherman: A Soldier's Passion for Order* (New York: The Free Press, 1993), 320.
110. *Ibid.*, 320.
111. Hughes, *Hardee*, 275-76.
112. AJG to Mrs. A. H. Elliott, 18 January 1865, EGP.
113. William P. McFarland to W. C. Bestor, 12 December 1860, MAC; and Mears & Turnbull, *The Charleston Directory 1859*, 228.
114. *Nassau Guardian*, 7 March 1863.
115. Stephen R. Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy: Blockade Running During the Civil War* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), 209-210.
116. AJG to Mrs. A. H. Elliott, 18 January 1865, EGP.
117. Emmie E. to "My Dear Mother," 29 January (1865), EGP.
118. AJG to Col. Allan Mcfarlan, 10 February 1865, Allan Macfarlan Papers, SCL.
119. Freeman, *Pemberton*, 264.
120. Hardee to Sam Cooper, 10 February 1865, RG 109, CMR.
121. J. Gorgas to Secretary of War, 20 February 1865, CMR.
122. Burton, *The Siege of Charleston*, 320-322.
123. Hughes, *Hardee*, 278.
124. *Ibid.*; and Craig L. Symonds, *Joseph E. Johnston: A Civil War Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992), 344.
125. William R. Trotter, *Silk Flags and Cold Steel: The Civil War in North Carolina: The Piedmont* (Winston-Salem, N.C.: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1988), 297.
126. *Ibid.*, 299.
127. G. T. Beauregard to AJG, 31 March 1865, OR, I (47), Part 3, 726.
128. Williams, *Beauregard*, 256.
129. *Organization of the Lee Monument Association, Richmond, Va., Nov. 3 and 4, 1870*. (Richmond: n.p., 1871).

CHAPTER XI

THE PROUD PAUPER

When Gonzales was paroled on 1 May 1865, he found his family in Springville, South Carolina. After the evacuation of Charleston he had kept in touch with Hattie by private messenger, possibly his servant, but the letters took a month to reach her. Gonzales, his wife and their four children, joined Mrs. Anne Elliott and her offspring Emily, Annie and William, who were "very comfortably located" in Darlington and Springville, South Carolina. According to Emily Elliott, the "abundantly kind" and "good people" there "supply all of our wants & we have not felt any of the horrors of refugeedom." Even so, Annie started planting vegetables on a "very poor piece of land."¹ Before the war ended, Union troops passing through the area on three occasions went to their abode, where the Elliott women met them on the piazza and kept them from entering the house, "a circumstance we are a little proud of." According to Emily, the soldiers "robbed our negroes but got from us very little," and lamented, "we can not bring ourselves to believe that our four year struggle has been in vain, that our heroes have lived & died in vain & that we are to be a despised & conquered people."²

The eldest sister, Mary Barnwell Elliott, had been living in Greenville, South Carolina, with her six children since the previous year, after her husband was murdered by Confederate deserters in Flat Rock, North Carolina. She was "mortified" that her mother and sisters "should be inconvenienced by the desertion of their well cared former servants," since she had felt "quite attached" to some of them. Mary still had at least four former slaves attending her family, "for how long I do not know," and wrote to her brother Ralph that "the negroes have entirely turned foot and they act as if we had always been their worst enemies." Mary was quite willing to

dispense with some of her servants who had large families, since the freedmen were hiring themselves out cheaply. In one day she had seven applications from washerwomen willing to work for twenty-five cents a day and two meals. Mary awaited the arrival of the Union garrison in Greenville, which "I begin to think it will be for our benefit, the negroes will then be more settled in their notions and begin to realize that freedom has not turned them white."³

That summer, Gonzales attended the wedding reception of Mary Gray Crockett at Colonel Allan McFarlan's home in Cheraw. The bride recalled almost sixty years later that Gonzales had been a "splendid performer on the piano."⁴ He also probably sang during the nuptial festivity. The unreconstructed Ralph Elliott had been staying in Charleston since the end of the war, and in June gave his family reports that Oak Lawn had been destroyed, but that Tom Elliott's plantation house at Bethel was unburnt.⁵ He advised them to "try to be patient & hopeful, & bear the misfortune, poverty, & degradation which has been put upon us, with fortitude."⁶ To survive, Gonzales suggested they all go to Cuba, where his family and friends would provide support while they rebuilt their lives. Emily wrote for advice on 28 June to her cousin Bishop Stephen Elliott in Augusta, Georgia. He replied that he had "no faith in emigration" to uncivilized countries where they would "only find greater misery." Talk of going to Brazil or Cuba was "mere nonsense" since they were "very expensive countries and have no use for the kind of talent we should carry there." The bishop predicted a "scant economy for a few years & perhaps a fierce struggle between the whites & blacks, but eventually the blacks must come to order & work or perish." He recommended that the Elliotts "remain in Carolina among your own people & kindred" and predicted that in little time they would be able to recover their lands. Bishop Elliott also advised that if they had to dispose of their silver plate to survive, it was best to sell

it in New York, where it would bring a higher price than in the South.⁷ Gonzales had recently sent his ornate saddle to Ralph Elliott for sale in Charleston, but it was returned when no buyers could be found.⁸

The Elliott properties had been forfeited under the 1862 congressional Confiscation Act, which authorized the U.S. Treasury Department to seize the plantations on the Sea Islands for non-payment of taxes and placed them on the auction block. General Sherman's Sea Island Circular of 18 January 1865 had reserved for the settlement of freedmen the islands from Charleston to Port Royal, and the adjacent lands thirty miles inland. Four months later, President Andrew Johnson, following Lincoln's conciliatory policies, granted amnesty, with some exceptions, to former Confederates. Johnson claimed to be abiding by the Constitution when he restored all rights to property, except slaves, to the Southerners. Lands not sold by the government could be recovered if the owners paid the tax, took the oath of allegiance, and received a Presidential pardon.⁹ By the fall of 1865, more than a hundred pardons a day were being granted, for which pardon brokers and attorneys were charging fees ranging up to \$500.¹⁰ Mrs. Elliott managed on 9 December 1865 to recover title to Oak Lawn, Social Hall and The Bluff, the last two located on the Chehaw River in Colleton County, from the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands. The family spent more than twenty years fruitlessly trying to obtain four other plantations in the Sea Islands and their three-story home in Beaufort, all of which had been sold by the government.¹¹

Gonzales left his family in Springville and was in Charleston on 2 August.¹² The city was still recuperating from the extensive damage of shelling, fire and looting, and Gonzales apparently made plans with his friend W.T.J.O. Woodward to establish a commission merchant

business there. Gonzales went to Cuba that month,¹³ taking advantage of a political amnesty that had been granted by the Spanish crown eight years earlier. He received from his wealthy Cuban friends and relatives enough merchandise and credit to open by the end of the year the commission merchant and factor business "Gonzales, Woodward & Co," at 73 East Bay Street, Charleston. It was located in a three-story brick house built before 1835.¹⁴ The enterprise imported Cuban products of sugar, molasses, rum, coffee and cigars, and also bought and sold cotton and other southern produce.¹⁵

Reconstruction had spawned white Northern migration southward, the hated "carpetbaggers," investors in new economic opportunities in a region prostrate by war. They helped organize blacks into Union Leagues and assumed their leadership. On 2 December 1865, Gonzales was part of a delegation of merchants and planters who called on General Ulysses S. Grant while he was in Charleston. Grant had arrived the previous day, during a fact-finding tour of the South ordered by President Johnson, and had received a welcoming torch-lit parade composed mostly of African-American citizens. A few weeks earlier, a Colored People's Convention had gathered in Zion Church in Charleston, demanding greater political rights, equal suffrage and the abolition of the "Black Code" state laws that curtailed their freedom. This was the first display of African-American political action in South Carolina.¹⁶

Gonzales and the entrepreneurs were introduced to Grant by General Daniel Sickles, commanding the Department. The delegation petitioned Grant for the removal of colored troops to ease racial tensions in the city.¹⁷ Southerners regarded these soldiers as "commonly arrogant, frequently impertinent, sometimes insulting. They were even lawless, brutish, in some instances murderous."¹⁸ White retaliation was directed against the African-American in uniform. Ralph

Elliott indicated that when the "almighty nigger" in blue ventured out of the town limits, the county proved so "unhealthy" to them, that they were rapidly being relieved by "*white Yankees*."¹⁹ Three-and-a-half months after his visit, Grant recommended to Secretary of War Edwin Stanton a mustering out of most of the black volunteer forces throughout the South.²⁰ Grant believed this measure would discourage white guerrilla activity.²¹

Gonzales did not stay long in Charleston. He was writing to his wife from Matanzas on 3 January 1866, where he had gone to promote his new business endeavor, and returned to Charleston in February. During this time, he was interested in acquiring title to the Elliott's Social Hall plantation. Land values had declined more than half of their antebellum price. On 24 April, a fifth son, Benigno Gener Gonzales, was born in Charleston. The following month, Gonzales applied at the Spanish consulate in Charleston for a new passport to travel to Cuba, apparently to expand business contacts.²²

Federal tax records for May 1866 indicate that "Gonzales, Woodward & Co." was a wholesale liquor dealer and commercial broker, with a tax of \$70, indicating a steady increase in business during the previous five months.²³ The company started paying a city tax of \$11.86 in January on sales merchandise, which the following month quintupled to \$55.17, indicating a tremendous growth in revenue.²⁴ Suddenly, without explanation, the store disappeared from the June tax records. We can surmise that the liquor store became the target of rioters that month.

At five o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday 24 June, a rock throwing incident between black and white children at the Battery scaled into a fight between adults of both races. The police dispersed the crowd and arrested about half a dozen ringleaders. A few hours later, a group of African-Americans who eluded the authorities agitated others in the immediate vicinity.

Soon, a mob of two or three hundred, "directed by some eight or ten negro soldiers," rampaged up East Bay Street and turned left on Tradd Street.²⁵ The Gonzales wholesale liquor business at 73 East Bay Street was located three doors south of Tradd, on the path of the rioters. The liquor trade was a hated symbol for African-Americans, who had been prohibited by the 1865 South Carolina Constitution from manufacturing or selling alcoholic beverages.²⁶ The mob seized Richard M. Brantford, a white man who tried to flee, after knocking him down on Tradd Street with a shower of bricks. The victim was kicked and beaten to death with brick bats, encouraged by a rioter who shouted, "Kill the rebel son of a bitch."²⁷ Two weeks later, another racial riot occurred in the Charleston market. Black soldiers who had been asked by the police not to block a passage departed and later returned reinforced by a mob. They fired at the police and seriously wounded a few bystanders before being routed.²⁸ Although news accounts of the damage done by the rioters is sketchy, it appears that the prosperous "Gonzales, Woodward & Co." was looted out of existence. The premises were then occupied by his friend C. K. Huger, a former major and chief of ordnance for the Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, who established a business dealing in railroad, steamboat, and engineers' supplies.²⁹

Concern for the safety of his wife and children and the need to establish another business seems to have persuaded Gonzales to temporarily leave Charleston. Their itinerary during the next six months is a mystery. During this period, Gonzales appears to have established a rudimentary saw mill at Social Hall plantation and travelled to Cuba with his family.³⁰ Biographer Lewis P. Jones wrote that after the birth of Benigno, Gonzales worked in New York as a Spanish teacher and interpreter, remitting his savings to his family in Charleston so that they could survive.³¹ His source for this data appears weak.³² Hattie informed her mother from

Charleston on 4 November that she and Benigno had just arrived safely and were reunited with the other children. She described their situation: "We fare very nicely here & are quite comfortable.... The city is quiet, the nigs orderly & polite."³³

Gonzales was back in Cuba in late November, with free passage from his friends Mordecai & Company in Baltimore, the agents for the steamships *Cuba* and *Liberty*, which frequently traveled between Baltimore, Charleston, Havana and New Orleans. He spent the next two months shuttling between Matanzas and Havana, pursuing contracts to sell yellow pine timber to five railroad enterprises, including the Sabanilla Rail Road Company, directed by his friend Benigno Gener,³⁴ for whom his youngest son was named. Spanish colonial bureaucratic transactions were exceedingly slow, as Gonzales had to make personal appointments and give individual presentations to each member of the various committees involved in the negotiations.³⁵

Part of his business difficulties stemmed from the bad luck of arriving in Cuba at a time when the government bank was in its biggest financial crisis in a decade. His contract proposal to the Sabanilla Rail Road was turned down by the board of directors in December because he was asking for a \$2,000 advance to allow him to resume sawing operations. Yet, Gonzales received promises for future orders from three railroad companies, and was hoping to obtain an order from his friend and former separatist conspirator Miguel de Aldama, associated with the Havana Rail Road. The Cubans were interested in yellow pine timber, the highest quality hardwood which never rots, available in the southeastern United States and not on the island. The wood was used for building railroad cars and cross ties. Gonzales planned to return home by 22 January 1867, with at least one lumber contract from Aldama. Accompanying him were two good

dogs and Luis, his aunt Lola's young Chinese coachman, on loan free of charge for one year, who could "cook, sew, and do almost anything." Gonzales expressed great suffering and anxiety over being away from his family so long. He told Hattie that if they were too uncomfortable where he had left them, to move to the Carolina House until he arrived.³⁶

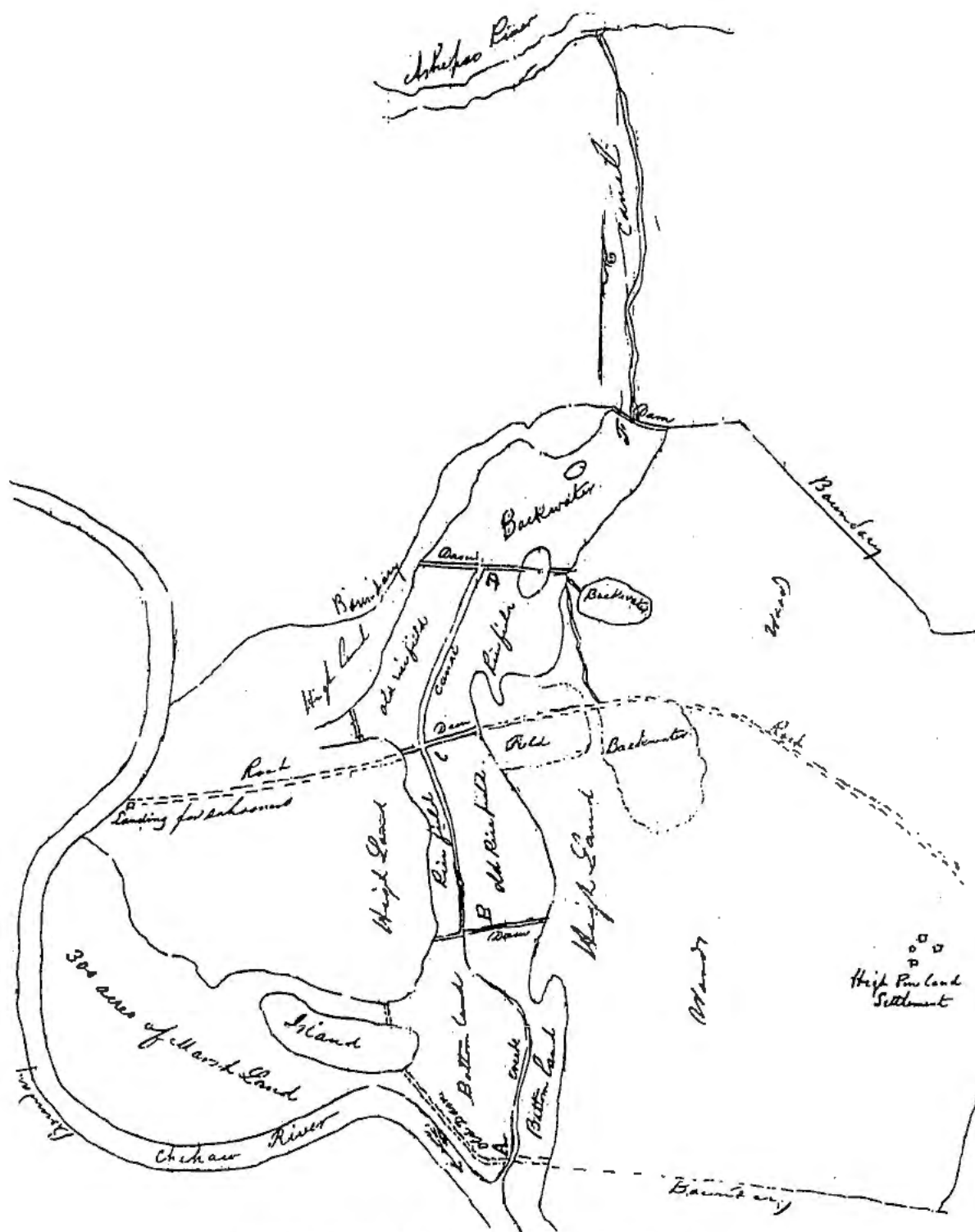
The Gonzales family settled in the spring of 1867 in Social Hall plantation, which is presently the Ashepoo plantation, on state highway 26, ten miles south of Green Pond, South Carolina.³⁷ The farm had six wooden dwellings on brick foundations, valued at \$120, located on the highest elevation, thirty-eight feet above sea level, in a cluster of high pines one hundred yards away from the highway. Social Hall had 1,450 acres, with only one hundred acres cultivated, the rest being woodland and marsh, with a total value of \$1,750.³⁸ Residents included, besides the Gonzales family, Irish housekeepers Margaret and Hannah, Luis the Chinese coachman, and nine white mill workers. The eldest sons, ten-year-old "Brosio," and eight-year-old "Narto," spoke fluent Spanish with their father and Luis and helped tend the family vegetable garden.³⁹

In the spring of 1868, when Luis was scheduled to return to Cuba, the entire Gonzales family returned with him. In March, Jefferson Davis vacationed on the island and stayed at the Matanzas home of Edward Sánchez, a cousin of Gonzales. Davis reminisced with the Gonzales family and overcame his bitterness toward the Cuban Confederate Colonel. Hattie wrote to a friend in Greenville, South Carolina, that her husband "enjoyed his visit greatly."⁴⁰

When the Gonzales family returned to Social Hall, they found the South in the midst of economic, social and political turmoil. President Johnson had almost been impeached in May. Two months later, the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified, and a military Reconstruction

government was imposed on South Carolina. Gonzales obtained on 22 August 1868 another visa to travel to Cuba from the Spanish Consulate in Charleston.⁴¹ He began making preparations for a permanent move to Cuba with his family. Gonzales wrote on 2 December to Beauregard in New Orleans, asking if he could intercede with the owners of Perkins & Company to obtain reduced rates or free steamer passages to Havana. Beauregard replied eight days later that the company claimed it was contrary to their rules, and added, "I regret to hear of your disappointments, but you have this to console you, if it be a consolation, that few, very few of our late associates have met with any success since the War."⁴² Beauregard wished Gonzales better luck in Cuba but warned him against involvement in the independence revolution which had started two months earlier: "Your past experience will give you, at once, an important position there, should you desire to take a part in the coming struggle. You should consider well, however, whether Cuba is not happier under Spanish rule, than it will be under the complications which may ensue, should she separate from the mother country."⁴³

The following month, Beauregard wrote to his former Chief of Staff, General Thomas Jordan, in New York, enclosing a letter of recommendation Jordan needed to be hired by the exiled Cuban Junta to organize their rebel army in the island. He informed Jordan that Gonzales had returned to Cuba and could be of service to him there. Beauregard indicated that he decidedly opposed filibustering and classified Narciso López and William Walker as no more than "Military Carpetbaggers," even if they had succeeded.⁴⁴ Beauregard's letter and his recent contempt for filibusters must have been very disappointing to Gonzales and probably led to a mutual fallout. No further correspondence between them has been found, and Beauregard later omitted mentioning Gonzales in his Civil War reminiscences.



Map of Social Hall plantation drawn by Gonzales.

The Gonzales family obtained passports from the Spanish consulate in Charleston on 29 December 1868.⁴⁵ They arrived in Cuba three days later and found the Spanish *Voluntarios* militia parading through the streets.⁴⁶ The first Cuban War of Independence had been declared by planter Carlos Manuel de Céspedes and a group of masonic conspirators on 10 October 1868. Céspedes freed his slaves, most of whom joined the insurgency, and called for abolition and independence. The struggle was contained in the eastern provinces of Oriente and Camagüey. Gonzales, who had pledged not to take up arms against Spain as a condition for returning, "was under constant surveillance by Spanish spies" during their first months of living with wealthy relatives in Havana. Ten-year-old Ambrose never forgot those "dark, sinister faces" who even watched the movements of the children.⁴⁷

During the first week of May, the Gonzales family moved to Pueblo Nuevo, a small town in the Cárdenas municipality, province of Matanzas, near the city occupied by the filibusters nineteen years earlier. Gonzales found employment teaching English and French in two colleges and giving private lessons to his wealthy friends.⁴⁸ They settled in two adjoining rooms of a hotel that housed three other American families, and soon received clothing and English books from Cuban friends. Doctor Cartera offered free services to the pregnant Hattie and the children, two of whom had colds and fever. Although many of their acquaintances spoke English, Hattie's only complaint to her mother was that "my head can not well carry two languages,"⁴⁹ but many of their friends spoke English and the children and Gonzales served as translators for her. A second daughter, Ana Rosa, was born on 21 May. Named in honor of Gonzales' aunt, she became "a never ending source of delight" to all. Two months later, Hattie was informing her mother, "I have not seen the children look so well for two years & I am fat & feel strong &

well." They were "living luxuriously," compared to Southern standards, and she marvelled at the delights of exquisite meats, fish, fruits, cool drinks, vegetables and savoring an avocado for the first time. Hattie exclaimed, "No wonder the Yankees love to live here!"⁵⁰ Gonzales was still under surveillance by the Spanish authorities and the family letters were being opened and read at the Havana post office. Mrs. Elliott had sent a newspaper clipping informing that General Thomas Jordan had landed in Oriente province on 11 May 1869 with the *Perrit* expedition, accompanied by over one hundred men with a large quantity of arms and ammunition. Upon receiving the opened envelope Hattie was "glad" that the censors had read the news about Jordan, and "appreciated it very much, every thing here is very quiet & if he has had any success the Spaniards don't seem to know it."⁵¹

The children attended school in the city of Matanzas, from six to ten o'clock in the morning, and were taught in Spanish geography, grammar, history, reading, writing, arithmetic and catechism. Their father was also providing French lessons.⁵² The Elliott family mailed the children reading material, such a "Nicholas Nickterby," which they enjoyed very much, but Hattie objected to one issue of "Onward," sent by Mary from Baltimore, describing "The love & jealousy of a planter for a mulatto girl, pictures of nigs being punished." Responding to Mary's inquiry about working as a governess in Cuba, Hattie said that if they remained on the island and set up permanent housekeeping, she could stay with them in the winter.⁵³

These plans were voided when tragedy struck on 16 September. Twenty-nine-year-old Hattie, Narciso, Gertrudis and Benigno, contracted yellow fever. A few days earlier, Hattie had told a friend, a Mrs. Poujand, of how she had become a good Christian, and then dwelt at length on her fear of the yellow fever. Hattie had been nursing her baby and "a Yankee woman's twins,

who lived in the same hotel," and the fever had a ravishing effect on her weakened body. The three children recovered, but Hattie developed the symptom of the black vomit. Realizing her illness, "she fell into a convulsion from fright," and died the next day.⁵⁴ Yellow fever went through various stages, including retained excretions that caused uraemic poisoning and coma, changed skin color to saffron or bronze, fluctuated body temperature from dry and hot to cold and clammy moisture, blood secretions which oozed from the mouth, eyes, ears and uterus. Life ended with delirium and convulsions during the death struggle.⁵⁵ Gonzales kneeled by her bedside, bewildered, immersed in prayer, caressing her features and holding her hand until her final deep exhale, when "with loving and trembling hands he closed the sapphire eyes."⁵⁶ When the physician returned, surprised to find her dead, he encountered Gonzales standing before the corpse, who told him in a firm voice, "There you see her, born in affluence, reared in affluence, & died in misery, without feeling the transition."⁵⁷ The American Consul in Havana, Henry C. Hall, a captain with the Eight Connecticut Volunteers during the war, attended the funeral.⁵⁸ Since Hattie was not a Roman Catholic, she could not be buried in the Matanzas city cemetery and had to be laid to rest in a private one.

During the last week of October, Gonzales left Narciso and Alfonso at the plantation of his friend Agustín Dalcour, and took the other four children to Havana, where they boarded the steamship *Savannah* for its home port. Gonzales and the children went to Marshall House, owned by his friend A. B. Luce, a former filibuster conspirator. They spent two days with Leila Habersham, before departing for Charleston. After staying there two days with Mary Manigault, Gonzales arrived with his brood at Oak Lawn on 3 December.⁵⁹ The Elliotts received them with kindness and compassion, but six months later, they unleashed a vicious campaign against

Gonzales and tried to turn the children against him. The source of this feud has never been clarified. The Elliott women would later claim that Gonzales was responsible for Hattie's death for having taken her to Cuba, and that he was negligent in the care and education of his children.⁶⁰

The problems did not start until after Gonzales went to Savannah in March 1870 in search of employment as a teacher. Forty-year-old Emmie, who had been in love with the Cuban before he wed Hattie, could possibly have expected the bereaved widower to marry her. This was not uncommon in the South; Georgia filibuster activist David Bailey had married his sister-in-law two years after his wife's death. Gonzales would never marry again and grieved over Hattie the rest of his life. Twenty-five years later, he still movingly exclaimed to friends, "For me, she is not dead, she is in my heart."⁶¹

In May, Gonzales tried to enroll his eldest son in Washington College in Virginia, but President Robert E. Lee, five months before passing away, told him that Ambrose had "neither the age nor the preparation to enter his institution."⁶² Gonzales then placed Ambrose in a Charleston school and left him boarding with Mrs. Ebet Burnet, a family friend.⁶³ The Cuban returned to the Marshal House in Savannah, where on 9 June the proud pauper told the federal census enumerator that he was a "retired planter" and that the value of his personal estate was "\$10,000."⁶⁴ Apparently, he wanted to avoid the embarrassment of admitting poverty in the presence of other hotel guests, and was referring to his worthless dowry. The following month, Gonzales received a letter from brother-in-law Thomas R. S. Elliott, who warned,

you must be on your guard on talking to Brosey, he tells everything that should not be mentioned & makes mischief. He has been so accustomed to hear you abused by his aunts that he thinks it all right & proper & forgets that you are his Father. The fact is he has been drilled into speaking of you in the most disrespectful manner. I think it my duty to tell you this and I think if you could

manage to keep him as far as possible from the evil influence of Ann Elliott, it would be much better for him.⁶⁵

Tom was also being slandered by his mother and sisters, who referred to him as a "Viper." Three years earlier, he had received their support after his "jealous Wife & ungrateful Daughters" abandoned him after believing the "base & false accusation... derived from Negroes & low White people," that he had fathered a mulatto child with a servant.⁶⁶ Tom expressed to his brother-in-law, "It has always been my disposition General, to defend the injured & take up for the wronged & I will not & cannot up hold my nearest Relatives in their abuse of you."⁶⁷

Gonzales left Savannah to seek better fortune in New York City, briefly stopping in Charleston on 10 October.⁶⁸ Soon after his arrival, a classified advertisement appeared for one week in the *New York Tribune* under the "Teachers" section: "An experienced "Tutor" in the Classics, Modern Languages and English Branches, wishes an engagement in a private family or school. Music, Piano and Organ taught if desired. Address Tutor, care Unger & Keen, 23 Maiden-lane."⁶⁹ This is the type of work Gonzales had the experience to offer.

The United States Census for 1870 indicated that there were 1,207 Cubans residing in New York City out of a total population of 942,292. More than half of them were concentrated in the fifteenth through the eighteenth wards of lower Manhattan.⁷⁰ Many had fled political persecution and the ravages of war in the island. While some immigrants, like Aldama, were wealthy merchants, many others worked as cigar makers in their own homes or in small shops. A man and wife, working fifteen hours a day, would average three thousand cigars a week, receiving \$11.25.⁷¹ The intellectuals, like Gonzales, were mostly employed as teachers, translators or editors. A handful of emigre revolutionary newspapers flourished, some appearing in one year and vanishing the next.

New York had a record bitter winter in 1870 when Gonzales arrived with all his worldly possessions in a steamer trunk and very little money in his pocket. The former Cuban aristocrat moved into the Maltby House, on 21 Great Jones Street, in the Bowery section of Manhattan, on the southeast corner of Lafayette Place. This was a rundown five-story tenement house on a 25 by 100 foot lot, managed by G. H. Costar, with a real estate value of \$20,100.⁷² It was an old dwelling whose large rooms had been partitioned into various smaller ones lacking windows or ventilation. Maltby House was located in the fifteenth ward of the city, between the Jewish Quarter on the east and Little Italy on the west, an area crowded with tenement-houses that was rapidly deteriorating after the end of the Civil War.

The Bowery contained theaters, cheap saloons, billiard halls, ten-pin alleys, brothels, pawnshops, rat-infested stale-beer dives, phony auction rooms, sensational dime museums, and immense German lager beer gardens.⁷³ The area attracted gamblers, prostitutes, pickpockets, and other criminal elements, like the tough Bowery Boy, intent on breaking into its stores, shops, factories and warehouses. Foreigners, like Gonzales, flocked there in search of cheap lodging.

The tenant-house was congested, dark, filthy and dilapidated. Constant moisture kept walls and banisters sticky. Cubbyholes accommodating a bed, a table and a chair rented for five dollars monthly. Hogs, chickens, goats and other animals lived in damp cellars and in backyards, littered with manure.⁷⁴ Added to this foul air were the smells of boiling cabbage, other cooking odors, and those of cleaning rags hung out to dry. The stench of the kerosene stove constantly burning for cooking, heating and ironing, permeated the air. The explosion of these stoves was a frequent source of fires. The five-story tenement contained apartments for twenty families, usually about one hundred people, but boarders or lodgers sometimes increased the population to over 150. The

building's first floor was generally occupied by a store and the rear lot frequently contained another smaller three-story wooden structure with two families per floor. The abominable hallway bathrooms, which lacked doors, were accessible not only to the building occupants but to anyone from the street.⁷⁵ Three-fourths of the population of New York lived in these tenements.

Gonzales sought spiritual refuge in St. Bartholomew's Episcopal Church, located across the street from Maltby House, on the corner of Lafayette Place and Great Jones Street. The parish had been organized in 1835 and the church had been consecrated the following year. It was a colonial structure with a tall steeple and its outward appearance was void of architectural beauty.⁷⁶ Gonzales was facing the lowest point in his life, with the recent loss of his beloved wife, the separation from his children, and economic hardships, managing to survive on the money his aunt Lola was sending from Cuba. He found spiritual strength in the words of fifty-five-year-old Reverend Samuel Cooke, who powerfully preached carefully written Evangelical sermons, evoking human salvation through the atonement of Christ, and the punishment of sins in an eternal hell of fire and brimstone.⁷⁷ Due to his fine voice, Gonzales became a member of the church choir, which was a salaried position.⁷⁸

Gonzales endured these hardships because he was pursuing a business venture that would provide him with economic security and had gone to see his eldest son's godparents, the Aldamas, who had promised to pay for his education. This was the traditional role of a Hispanic godparent, or *compadre*, to be committed to the child's future. Mrs. Aldama had been making schooling arrangements for young Ambrose when she died suddenly.⁷⁹ Another incident occurred during this time that further polarized the Elliots against Gonzales, it was the unexpected arrival of Narciso and Alfonso at Oak Lawn on 6 December 1870. Gonzales had

received a letter from Matanzas complaining about their behavior and asking that he take them back. The general was broken hearted that the sons he "had *educated* to behave well from their infancy should be complained of in the terms of that letter." According to Ambrose, his brothers had been "much in the company of corrupt Chinese and Negroes."⁸⁰ Gonzales asked Dalcour to send the children to Charleston, by way of Baltimore, in care of Mordecai & Company, the steamship agents who gave him free passage. The wealthy Dalcour ignored the instructions and paid the children's fares to Charleston on the first available vessel, without notifying Gonzales. The previous year, the general had asked Narciso if Dalcour and Mr. Artús were receiving his letters and the reply was affirmative, but that "I really don't know why they don't answer your letters."⁸¹

When Gonzales did not receive further news about the children, either from Cuba or from Oak Lawn, in the summer of 1871 he inquired with Mordecai and Company, who informed that they were not on their passenger lists. Gonzales then visited a Cuban friend at the New York Hotel who had just arrived from Matanzas, who in the presence of Charlestonian John B. Lafitte, responded to his question regarding Narciso and Alfonso that "*they were well at Mr. Dalcour's near Matanzas.*"⁸² The general told Ambrose that he had been expecting to go to Charleston that summer as an agent for northern commercial houses.⁸³ This is confirmed by a letter he sent on 7 April 1871 to attorney John D. Warren, his former South Carolina neighbor and owner of Ashepoo Plantation. Gonzales asking him to pay his tax on Social Hall Plantation, which he would refund, along with any other expenses incurred, upon his return to Charleston in a month. The Cuban claimed he had not been notified by the Colleton County Treasurer regarding the payment of taxes or their due date and had written asking for a delay of payment. Gonzales

informed Warren that he had a fair prospect for securing an independent position for himself.⁸⁴

Gonzales changed plans at the last moment when he received a "tempting offer" of several thousand dollars if he sold a patent. He also had offers to sell first mortgage railroad bonds and real estate which, had he succeeded, could have netted "fifteen or twenty thousand dollars."⁸⁵ The general told his son that he postponed writing to Oak Lawn for a year because of the "daily expectation of selling one thing or another and of being able to give a surprise to your grandmother sending her not only enough for the education & wants of all my children but for herself & family...."⁸⁶ His optimism never materialized, partly due to his trust in the wrong people. The work Gonzales did for Rafael Carrasco in New York was a waste of time and effort, receiving a worthless check for \$250 on 3 June 1871.⁸⁷ Four months later, Gonzales participated in a Cuban celebration in Manhattan commemorating the 10 October cry of independence, and won a tricolor Cuban cockade.⁸⁸

Two months later, Gonzales moved to Baltimore, where he was hired to teach at Mrs. Semple's school until June and had a contract until May to sing in the choir of St. Paul's Episcopal Church.⁸⁹ The edifice, on the southeast corner of North Charles and Saratoga Streets, was the largest and most spacious in the city, with a 1700 seating capacity. It had been rebuilt in 1856, in an ancient basilica style, after a fire gutted the building two years earlier. The high-ceiling flat-roof nave was supported by interior arches and contained lateral aisles. This remains the actual structure of the church today.⁹⁰ The Rector at St. Paul's was English-born forty-one-year-old Rev. Dr. John Sebastian Bach Hodges, who shared Gonzales' passion for music.⁹¹ The church took pride in the beauty of its services and Hodges set about improving them by enhancing the choir. Most contemporary American churches had choirs of men and women

dressed in mufti, who were screened from the congregation.⁹² Gonzales probably sang in a quartet and received twenty-five dollars a month, which was equal to the salary of a rural parish minister.

The Cuban immediately found boarding at a fashionable federal-style four-story brick rooming house on 87 N. Charles Street, on the northeast corner of Pleasant Street, one block north of St. Paul's. The 1815 vintage hillside property was owned for more than a decade by Mrs. Mary E. Bordley, who had added a five-story rear wing.⁹³ Gonzales was introduced to Danish composer Asger Hamerik, a friend of Rev. Hodges.⁹⁴ Hamerik lived close to Gonzales and St. Paul's, at 75 N. Charles Street.⁹⁵ He was the musical director of the Peabody Academy of Music, at 51 Mount Vernon Place. It is very likely that Hamerik helped Gonzales find work in private music lessons and giving concerts. In January, a Baltimore newspaper article mentioned him as one of the singers at a concert.⁹⁶ A Beaufort lady spending that winter in Baltimore later told Ambrosio Jr. that she had heard his father sing with a splendid voice at a concert.⁹⁷ Gonzales was probably in touch with the Cuban exile community in Baltimore, some of whom were active in the independence movement. A point of emigre contact was the Cuban Cigar Store, operated by Moynello, Garmendia and Castaneda, in the post office rotunda.⁹⁸ Gonzales smoked Cuban cigars, as evidenced by a cigar sticking out of his coat pocket in a later photograph.

After arriving in Baltimore, Gonzales called on his sister-in-law, the widow Mary Elliott Johnstone, who was teaching at the Edgeworth School for Young Ladies, 64 Mount Vernon Place, near Hamerik's music academy. The institution was founded in 1866 by thirty-six-year-old Miss Sarah Agnes Kummer and Mrs. H. P. Lefebvre, a Confederate widow, both of whom

resided there.⁹⁹ The school eventually had about one hundred students, half day students and half boarders, many of them from the South. Discipline was strictly enforced by Mrs. Lefebvre, whose "icy manner and deep voice, could scare a girl half to death."¹⁰⁰ Miss Kummer, whose father was a Moravian missionary who settled in Pennsylvania, had established a branch of her academy in Paris with a Miss Devina. The curriculum at the schools included foreign languages, diction, literature, history, drawing and painting, fine arts, musical instruction in piano, singing and harmonizing, and scientific studies.¹⁰¹ Gertrude and Anita Gonzales would later receive their education there.

When the General appeared at the school, Mrs. Mary Johnstone was visiting Oak Lawn for the holidays. He called a second time to see her daughter Emma, but was not admitted. When Mrs. Johnstone returned after New Year's, daughter Mamie claimed to have heard Gonzales singing in the St. Paul's choir.¹⁰² Gonzales finally spoke with her in January and was told that Narciso and Alfonso had been at Oak Lawn for a year. He then wrote an apologetic letter to Ralph Elliott, authorizing him to sell his Spencer rifle and ammunition left at Stelling's in Charleston "for the relief of my children."¹⁰³ The Elliotts regarded the offer as too little, too late. They refused to touch the rifle and instead asked fourteen-year-old Ambrose if he wanted it. The general sent a New York draft for twenty-five dollars to his children on 25 February, care of Charleston factor William C. Bee.¹⁰⁴ Two days later, Ambrose Junior was being informed that Mamie "had not seen Old G. again & he had stopped singing at St. Paul's, but had sung at a concert at Mrs. Samples. I suppose he has quarrelled with some of the St. Pauls choir."¹⁰⁵ Bee wrote to Mrs. Elliott that he would either forward her the money by express or pay anyone she desired.¹⁰⁶ The Elliott matriarch ordered Bee to return the check to Gonzales, so "that he will

use the same for his own necessities, as the children are doing well and requiring no relief."¹⁰⁷ Gonzales sent an apologetic letter to Mrs. Elliott in late May, explaining that he had spent all his spare time during the previous winter and spring studying agriculture, and that plans to have returned to farm at Social Hall during the spring, in an arrangement to farm, on shares, with a Baltimore gentleman, had to be postponed until the fall. He had drawn a lengthy labor proposition and a contract, which was never signed, in which José Ramón Cucalón would invest \$4,500 in Social Hall.¹⁰⁸ Gonzales informed his mother-in-law that he hoped "to do better for my children in the future, than I have been ennobled to do latterly. My love and devotion to them has been and is as intense as ever, and my feelings to yourself and family are what I hope is christian like and what becomes one not unmindful of the kindness experienced in the happy days gone by."¹⁰⁹

Gonzales then proposed his agricultural scheme on 15 June 1872 to Hamerik, for colonizing Social Hall plantation with immigrants from Denmark or Norway.¹¹⁰ The deal collapsed after Ambrose wrote to his father a month later that the plantation had been flooded by a storm into "a fine lake," without communication to the mainland, all the buildings had disappeared, and even the Bluff negroes never went there.¹¹¹

During the third week of July, Gonzales left Baltimore and spent seven days at the Warrenton, Virginia, farm of his Cuban friend Aniceto García Menocal.¹¹² The thirty-six-year-old Matanzas-born García Menocal had a civil engineer degree from Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, New York, and had been assistant chief engineer of the Havana water works from 1863 to 1870. He had been an engineer for the Department of Public Works in New York City until 1872, when he became a civil engineer for the U.S. Navy Department.¹¹³ Gonzales

later visited the farm of General John Pemberton, four miles from Warrenton, and ended up staying for a month. His former Confederate chief was living with his wife and teenage sons on their two hundred acre farm. Gonzales wrote to Ambrose Junior that Pemberton and his family "have been very kind to me, poor as they are, and I have been saved not only the heat in Baltimore but the expense of living, a part of the summer."¹¹⁴

In September, Gonzales returned to the Maltby House in New York City, and informed his son that he was trying to "find a Northern farmer who will go shares with me in farming at Social Hall and thus help me gradually to reclaim the place in order that it may become, hereafter, of some value to yourselves."¹¹⁵ He obtained employment on Wall Street, and was soon remitting funds to his children with a promise for more. In 1874 Gonzales was living at 785 Broadway, corner of Tenth Street, was teaching Modern languages, and for the first time appeared in the New York City directory.¹¹⁶ In late 1875, Gonzales was appointed by the New York City Board of Education to teach English in the public schools "to a very large class of Cuban exiles."¹¹⁷ His new job and his good luck seems to have lasted only one year, when his name was dropped from the directory. In 1876 he moved back to the Bowery, at 44 Great Jones Street, a few doors east of the old St. Bartholomew's Church, near his previous place of residence in 1870.

He lived there until June 1877, when he sought better fortune in Washington, D.C. During the 1878 Christmas holidays, Gonzales was in the Charleston Hotel in South Carolina, where he stayed for more than a month before departing for Havana in early 1879. He was unable to see his younger children as the Elliotts were still harboring a grudge after ten years. Narciso informed him that "I find that there is no possibility of a change of sentiment toward you on the part of

the ladies, Uncle Ralph, or the children, and it is useless to expect one. The relative most adamant in making Gonzales suffer was Emily, who had felt rejected in her love toward him, and she admonished Narciso to leave his father alone.¹¹⁸ In Havana, Gonzales quickly found a job and lived there for over a year.

The Cuban returned to the United States and in September 1881 was writing to son Narciso from Saratoga, New York. Narciso replied that Ambrose Junior was working at the Western Union office in lower Manhattan, and the general soon went there to see him.¹¹⁹ Gonzales returned to Havana after his aunt Lola died on New Year's Day 1882. She left him \$10,000, but before the will could be executed, a letter from his son forced him to quickly return to the United States on 13 April 1882, without having time to bid farewell to his niece, Irene Espinosa, Lola's daughter.¹²⁰ Gonzales gave most of the inheritance money to Ambrose to cover the schooling of his youngest daughter, to pay the taxes on Oak Lawn and Social Hall, to build a wooden house at Oak Lawn to replace the cabin the family had inhabited for sixteen years, and let Ambrose keep \$2,000 as a loan.¹²¹ The rest of the money he spent traveling to Paris in the summer of 1882, where for six months he received medical attention for nasal problems. His address book reveals that while in Paris, Gonzales saw Doctor Charles Faunel and pharmacist Angelo Mariani. He was also in contact with Cubans José Güell, Enrique Piñero, Laureano Angulo and José Bueno Blanco, and with Judah P. Benjamin, the former Confederate Secretary of State and his nemesis during the filibuster trials of 1851.¹²² Gonzales then went to London, where he was treated for catarrh by two physicians and acquired new clothes from two tailor shops. On his return to the United States he seems to have stopped at Funchal, Madeira.¹²³ Gonzales arrived in New York around December 1882 or January 1883.¹²⁴ He

no longer appeared in the "Prominent Arrivals" newspaper announcements as he had during the 1850s. The general was back in Charleston by November 1883, working as a translator for a Latin American newspaper.

Gonzales moved to New Orleans in March 1884, seeking employment as professor of Spanish at the University of Louisiana, which was in the process of becoming Tulane University. He presented numerous letters of recommendation from retired and contemporary politicians, including William Porcher Miles, and a petition signed by Charleston Mayor William Courtney, *News and Courier* editor Francis W. Dawson, and seven other prestigious Charlestonians.¹²⁵ Fate played against Gonzales once more, as someone else was chosen for the job.

Gonzales was staying in New Orleans with former siege train artillerist G. W. Nott, when Democratic presidential candidate Grover Cleveland won the November 1884 election. He wrote to his step-brother Ignacio in Havana, urgently asking for part of his inheritance, which he needed to travel to South Carolina and then to Washington, in search of patronage employment.¹²⁶ In South Carolina, Gonzales picked up a large number of recommendations from prominent citizens in Charleston and Columbia and the endorsement of the whole South Carolina delegation in the House of Representatives, for a diplomatic mission to Latin America. He received help from his son Narciso, a newspaper reporter and Democratic Party activist, who wrote on his behalf to all of the South Carolina legislators in Congress. Gonzales was also recommended to Cleveland by New York Supreme Court Justice Theodor R. Westbrook, and former Representative William Porcher Miles, owner of Miles Planting and Manufacturing Company, the second largest sugar producer in America.¹²⁷ Gonzales believed that his appointment as a diplomat to Latin America would be beneficial to the United States, as his

being "an assimilated member of the Spanish race" would serve "as a token of friendship & to draw closer commercial & political relations," which was "far more obvious" at that time than ever before.¹²⁸ His son Ambrose did not share the same outlook and optimism. He had been laid off from his telegraphist job in New York City the previous month and had written to his sister, "I could sing in a Bowery museum for \$7 a week and last, but not least, the field of Hurdygurdyism is always open to the Latin races."¹²⁹

Two months after Cleveland assumed office, Gonzales was residing at 1326 L Street, N.W., in Washington, when he petitioned Secretary of State Thomas F. Bayard to withdraw from the Department of State files the letters of recommendation sent on his behalf by Southern legislators during the 1850s for a diplomatic post in Latin America. The documents were returned to Gonzales a week later, on 1 June 1885.¹³⁰ He seems to have used these documents to get further Southern political recommendations for President Cleveland to appoint him to a Mission to Latin America.¹³¹ In pursuit of this post, Gonzales wrote to Cleveland on 24 January 1886,¹³² and again four months later, resulting in fruitless efforts.¹³³

Gonzales stayed in Washington, D.C., living temporarily at the Hotel Windsor and in the McPherson House, where government employees resided.¹³⁴ During the Christmas season of 1887, the sixty-nine-year-old Gonzales came under the influence of spiritual medium P.L.O.A. Keeler. Apparently, he was taken in by a hocus-pocus clique that exploited his continuing grief for his wife. He went to seances with rose bouquets for Hattie, and received purported messages from her on four-inch scraps of paper, school slates and others written on a pad by a hand that materialized through a curtain. Gonzales also fell victim to trick photography used during the summoning of the spirits. One of the few surviving photos of Gonzales has a superimposed

image of Hattie over his left shoulder and those of two other figures above his head. In September 1889, he published the compiled messages from the beyond in a sixty-eight-page booklet entitled *Heaven Revealed: A Series of Authentic Spirit Messages, from a Wife to her Husband, Proving the Sublime Nature of True Spiritualism*.¹³⁵ These written spirit messages to Gonzales continued for at least another year, some containing forgeries of the signatures of assassinated Presidents Abraham Lincoln and James Garfield. He also received notes from the spirits of Lincoln's Treasury Secretary Salmon P. Chase, his sister Brigida, who wrote in English instead of her native Spanish, and from a Wong Foo with phony scrawl loosely resembling Chinese characters.¹³⁶

A month after Gonzales published his booklet of spirit messages, he was appointed as one of six translators for the International American Conference held at the Department of State from 2 October 1889 to 19 April 1890.¹³⁷ In 1889 he also became secretary of the Guatemala Legation in Washington, D.C.¹³⁸ At the age of seventy-one, Gonzales felt that he had finally achieved a new lease on life, but his fortune did not last long. In February 1891 he started having problems with his sight,¹³⁹ and then developed a progressive paralysis in his extremities that physicians diagnosed as myelitis. In July Gonzales moved to Leonardtown, Maryland, approximately fifty miles southeast of Washington, D.C., on the shore of the Potomac River, to recuperate his health. Four months later, his sons had him installed in the Grand Central Hotel in Columbia, where he registered as "General A. J. Gonzales, of South Carolina." The next day, he visited the offices of their recently established newspaper, *The State*. Gonzales greeted Ralph Elliott for the first time in twenty-one years, but his still resentful brother-in-law responded, "Excuse me, Sir," and refused to speak to him. Gonzales left saying "I did not think it," and wept

at the door. Elliott later wrote to his niece Harriett R. E. Gonzales, "as long as I have a memory of the sacrifices endured, and the deaths caused, by his selfish neglect of his offspring, I shall never treat him as an equal or a gentleman."¹⁴⁰

The opening up of old family wounds induced Gonzales, hoping that the climate would improve his health, to move to Key West. There he was surrounded by Cuban exiles who admired and venerated him. One of these expatriates was brother freemason and physician Manuel R. Moreno, who wrote him on 14 May 1892:

When I advised you to move to Key West it is because Key West is Cuba, not only its climate that you know but also more than five thousand exiled Cubans here who make up a small Republic where we can see float the glorious ensign of our fatherland. You would also have the daily visits of Amao,¹⁴¹ myself and innumerable Cubans who would rejuvenate you talking about the fatherland. I think that this alone would make you well.¹⁴²

The emigres, led by José Martí, were planning another revolution for Cuban independence when Gonzales, accompanied by his servant Heyward, arrived in Key West in mid-July. Doctor Moreno met him at the dock. In September 1892, Martí held a meeting in Key West with the leaders of the 1868 revolution. According to Martí's newspaper, *Patria*, the patriots homaged Gonzales:

The revolutionaries of yesterday, of today, and of tomorrow, went to greet the invalid; he sat up straight in his wheelchair; his whole figure glowed, he raised his numb limbs and said with solemnity: "I salute the redeemers of the fatherland!"¹⁴³

Since health care facilities were nonexistent in Key West, Gonzales thought about going to New York, where he could have all the requisites of a first class hospital and would be able to receive the hot turkish baths recommended by his physician. Gonzales wrote Ambrose on 17 September that the Confederates of Key West would pay his passage and that of his servant to New York and that "it is likely that the Masons will assist me." He closed the letter saying, "Today is the

24th Anniversary of the death of my wife."¹⁴⁴ The appearance of a yellow fever epidemic in Key West prompted him to sail for New York on 23 September.¹⁴⁵

After spending a month in the New York Hotel, on 25 October Gonzales checked into the Home for Incurables, today's St. Barnabas Hospital, in the Fordham section of the Bronx.¹⁴⁶ The law firm of Stearns & Curtis, where Martí's secretary, Gonzalo de Quesada, was employed, legally represented the institution.¹⁴⁷ Quesada went to visit Gonzales in the hospital during the Christmas holidays. As he crossed the ward, he slowly looked at the faces in the beds aligned on both sides of the wall. In the last bed in the corner Gonzales, with a gray untrimmed beard, lay sleeping. Quesada leaned over and whispered in his ear: "My General." Awakening, Gonzales responded, "I was dreaming of Cuba."¹⁴⁸ A few days later, Quesada published in *Patria* a biographical article on Gonzales.

By February 1893, the progressive paralysis was worse, his eyesight was bad and a nurse was writing the frequent correspondence to his son Ambrose.¹⁴⁹ In late April, Ambrose travelled from Columbia, South Carolina, to visit his father for a few days at the Home for Incurables and paid the \$28 monthly board.¹⁵⁰ He then continued on to Syracuse on a business matter. The seventy-four-year-old Gonzales had less than three months to live, his health was deteriorating rapidly, he was lonely and despondent. As soon as Ambrose left, his father was sending him telegrams requesting a quilt. Ambrose returned to New York on 1 May, on his way back to South Carolina. He saw his father and told him that he understood that "it is hard for an invalid in your condition to exercise patience," but that he was doing everything in his power for him. Ambrose indicated that he could not neglect the responsibilities that took him to New York, because that money helped pay the hospital expenses.¹⁵¹ Gonzales asked his son for a \$30 air

mattress, but Ambrose did not buy it after a nurse said that it was not necessary. He did ask a Mrs. Ball to get the mattress for his father if it was needed. After Ambrose left, Gonzales borrowed the money for the mattress and asked his son to reimburse a Mr. Armstrong. His father's complaints and worsening condition had a great stress on Ambrose, who wrote him, "I have sent you every dollar I could earn or borrow." Ambrose included a \$60 check in the 6 July response and promised to visit in a week or two.¹⁵² It would be the last time Ambrose saw his father. Gonzales passed away around ten o'clock in the morning of 31 July 1893. The chief cause of death was attributed to myelitis with the contributing factor being asthma.¹⁵³ The body was sent to local mortician J. P. Gamiss. Two days later, Gonzales was interred in a single plot on a hillside in Woodlawn Cemetery, the Bronx.¹⁵⁴

Telegrams from New York notified his sons in Columbia, South Carolina, who published a front-page obituary on 2 August headlined "Ambrosio Jose Gonzales: Death of a Cuban and Confederate patriot."¹⁵⁵ It has the written style of son Ambrose, who obtained the biographical material mostly from the recent *Patria* article. The final paragraph indicated:

Judged by the standard of material success the life of General Gonzales does not tempt to imitation. But by other standards it is not to be held a failure. To live beyond the allotted time of man and leave behind no shame; to have striven hard and roughly with the world and gone from it with open brow and unsoiled hands; to have given some good blows for liberty's great cause; and to be conscious at the end of duty performed as seen--these are earnings greater than gold. And for an epitaph this adopted citizen would have chosen the words of Jefferson Davis applied to him ten years ago: "A soldier under two flags but one cause; that of community independence."¹⁵⁶

When Martí heard of the death of Gonzales, he quickly penned an article praising "the old man who never gave up his first ideal: his last thoughts must have been for the [home]land... Gentleman without flaw, sound Cuban, and virtuous man, in the history of his people Gonzales has written his name with characters that will never be erased."¹⁵⁷



Gonzales, with cigar in coat pocket, surrounded by "spirits" during a seance.

The image shows a handwritten document with three columns of stylized, illegible marks that resemble Chinese characters. Below these columns is a signature that reads "Wong Foo". A horizontal line is drawn under the signature.

"Spirit message" from Wong Foo to Gonzales during a seance, with phony scrawl loosely resembling Chinese characters.

NOTES

1. Emily Elliott to Rev. Dr. Bachman, 2 May 1865, EGP.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Mary Barnwell Elliott to Ralphie, 9 July 1865, EGP.
4. United Daughters of the Confederacy, South Carolina Division, *Recollections and Reminiscences 1861-1865* (South Carolina: n.p., 1990), 546.
5. Mary Barnwell Elliott to Ralphie, 9 July 1865, EGP.
6. Ralph E. Elliott to Mother, 11 July 1865, EGP.
7. Stephen Elliott to "My Dear Cousin," 2 August 1865, EGP.
8. Ralph E. Elliott to Mother, 11 July 1865, EGP.
9. Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 349-351; Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1988), 158-161; Joel Williamson, *After Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction, 1861-1877* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1975), 79-80; and Thomas Holt, *Black Over White: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina during Reconstruction* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 25.
10. Robert H. Jones, *Disrupted Decades: The Civil War and Reconstruction Years* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 417-418.
11. Jones, "Carolinians and Cubans," 129; and Certificate of Assistant Commissioner, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, 9 December 1865, in EGP.
12. Jno. Bachman to Miss Emily Elliott, 3 August 1865, EGP.
13. Elliott Johnstone to Mrs. Anne Elliott, 5 September 1865, EGP.
14. Robert P. Stockton, "Do You Know Your Charleston?: 'Ugly Duckling' Renovated," *Charleston News and Courier*, 29 October 1879, 1-B.
15. "Gonzales, Woodward & Co." advertisement, *Charleston Daily Courier*, 22 January 1866, 2.
16. W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America* (New York: Atheneum, reprint 1992), 231; Williamson, *After Slavery*, 77; and Holt, *Black Over White*, 9-10.
17. Letters of Application and Recommendation during the Administration of Ulysses S. Grant 1869-1877, M968, Roll 23, Frames 283-286, R.G. 59, National Archive; John Y. Simon, ed., *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant, Volume 15: May 1-December 31, 1865* (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988), 427-428; and "Movements of Gen. Grant," *The New York Times*, 11 December 1865, 1.
18. John S. Reynolds, *Reconstruction in South Carolina 1865-1877* (Columbia, S.C.: The State Co., Publishers, 1905), 5.

19. Ralph E. Elliott to Mother, 11 July [1865], EGP.
20. John Y. Simon, ed., *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant, Volume 16: 1866* (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988), 115.
21. William S. McFeely, *Grant: A Biography* (New York: Norton, 1981), 240.
22. *Registro de pasaportes, 1861-1867*, May 1866, Spanish Consulate Papers, Charleston.
23. Gonzales, Woodward & Co., May 1866, RG 58, Internal Revenue Assessment, Lists for South Carolina 1864-1866, M789, roll 1, frame 568.
24. Charleston City Taxes, Monthly Returns, Nov. 1865--Feb. 1866, Charleston Library Society, Charleston, South Carolina.
25. "Disgraceful Riot," *The Charleston Daily Courier*, 25 June 1866, 2; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina* (Special Session, 1868), 169-173; and Williamson, *After Slavery*, 258-259.
26. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, 168.
27. "Disgraceful Riot," *Charleston Daily Courier*, 25 June 1866, 2; *Journal of the House of Representatives* (Special Session, 1868), 169-173; and Williamson, *After Slavery*, 258-259.
28. "Riot at Charleston," *The New York Times*, 10 July 1866, 5; and Williamson, *After Slavery*, 259.
29. *Charleston City Directory for 1867-68* (Charleston: Jno. Orrin Lea & Co., Publishers, 1867), 55, 107.
30. When Gonzales returned to Cuba by himself six months later, in various letters to his wife he mentioned friends and relatives who had spoken kindly of her, wished to be remembered, and were sending her and the children their regards. This would indicate that they had previously met in Cuba. Gonzales also mentioned in these letters that he was trying to get a \$2,000 loan to allow him to resume sawing. AJG to Mrs. A. J. Gonzales, 30 November 1866, 6, 14 and 21 December 1866, GFP.
31. Jones, *Stormy Petrel*, 15.
32. Lewis P. Jones based his information on a fourteen-page biography of Gonzales which is fraught with errors. In Portell Vilá, *Vidas de la Unidad Americana*, 369-382, it claims that "around 1866," Gonzales was sending part of his teacher's salary from New York to his family in *Columbia, S.C.*, not Charleston. Portell Vilá also gave Gonzales a wrong maternal last name, a different birth date, referred to his son as "Narciso General," purported that Gonzales fought in the Confederacy "from Virginia to Florida and also in Tennessee and Mississippi," and that when Gonzales departed Cuba in 1869, he left two of his children with Benigno Gener, when in fact, they remained with Agustín Dalcour.
33. "affcte daughter" to "dear Mama," 4 November [1866], EGP.
34. Planter Benigno Gener is identified as the owner of the Sabanilla Rail Road in: Vicente Baez, ed., *La Enciclopedia de Cuba VII* (Madrid: Editorial Playor, 1974), 687.
35. AJG to Mrs. A. J. Gonzales, 30 November 1866 and 6 December 1866, EGP.

36. AJG to Mrs. A. J. Gonzales, 21 December 1866 and 6 January 1867, EGP.
37. I would like to extend my gratitude to the family of the late Gaylord Donneley, owners of the Ashepoo plantation, which I had the opportunity to visit in December 1991. I am also indebted to H. B. "Buck" Limehouse and his son Chip, owners of the neighboring Airy Hall plantation, for their hospitality and a tour of the area. Ambrose E. Gonzales bought Airy Hall on 23 October 1911 and sold it five years later.
38. Colleton County Auditor's Tax Return 1868, A. J. Gonzales, box 5, file 19, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina.
39. Hattie Gonzales to Annie Elliott, 6 May [1867], EGP.
40. "Jefferson Davis in Cuba," *The Southern Enterprise* (Greenville, S.C.), 22 April 1868, 2.
41. *Registro de pasaportes expedidos por el consulado, 1868-1871*, 22 August 1868, Spanish Consulate Papers, Charleston.
42. Beauregard to AJG, 10 December 1868, GFP.
43. *Ibid.*
44. Beauregard to Thomas Jordan, 24 January 1869, The Papers of P.G.T. Beauregard, Reel 1, Frame 594, LC.
45. *Registro de pasaportes expedidos por el consulado, 1868-1871*, 29 December 1868, Spanish Consulate Papers, Charleston.
46. Gonzales. *In Darkest Cuba*, 12-13.
47. *Ibid.*, 12.
48. Ambrosio José Gonzales [Jr.] to Grandmama, 12 August [1869] and Hattie to Mother, 14 August [1869], EGP.
49. Hattie to "Dearest Mama" [fragment], 18 May 1869, EGP.
50. Hattie to Mrs. Anne H. Elliott, 1 August [1869], EGP.
51. *Ibid.*
52. Ambrosio José Gonzales [Jr.] to Grandmama, 12 August [1869], EGP.
53. Hattie to Mama, 3 September [1869], EGP.
54. Mrs. Poujand to [?], fragment, 25 September 1869, EGP.
55. Francis Peyre Porcher, M.D., *Yellow Fever in Charleston, 1871, with Remarks Upon its Treatment*, President's Address: Before South Carolina Medical Association (Charleston, S.C.: Walker, Evans & Cogswell, Printers and Stationers, 1872), 13.
56. "Ambrosio José Gonzalez," *Patria*, 31 December 1892, 2-3.
57. Mrs. Poujand to [?], fragment, 25 September 1869, EGP.

58. AJG to Ulysses S. Grant, 8 January 1876, Letters of Application and Recommendation during the Administration of Ulysses S. Grant 1869-1877, M968, Roll 23, Frames 283-286, R.G. 59, National Archive.
59. Ambrose E. Gonzales to Nano, 3 December (1869), EGP.
60. Jones, *Stormy Petrel*, 27.
61. "Ambrosio José Gonzalez," *Patria*, 31 December 1892, 3.
62. AJG to Anne Elliott, 16 May 1870, EGP.
63. Ambrose E. Gonzales to AJG, 14 June 1870, EGP.
64. 1870 Population Census, Savannah, Georgia, page 104.
65. T.R.S. Elliott to AJG, 12 July 1870, GFP.
66. T.R.S. Elliott to Anne Elliott, 20 October 1867, Thomas Rhett Smith Elliott Papers, Duke University.
67. T.R.S. Elliott to AJG, 12 July 1870, EGP.
68. AJG to John D. Warren, 7 April 1871, John D. Warren Papers, South Caroliniana Library.
69. "Classified Ads--Teachers," *New York Tribune*, 7 November 1870, 6.
70. "New York Census," *The New York Times*, 11 July 1871, 5.
71. Jacob A. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press, 1970), 93.
72. Municipal Archives, City of New York, *Record of Assessments, 15th Ward, 1870*, Roll 116, p. 68.
73. Matthew Hale Smith, *Sunshine and Shadow in New York* (Hartford: J. B. Burr and Company, 1868), 214-218.
74. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*, 10.
75. *Ibid.*, 16; Smith, *Sunshine and Shadow in New York*, 365-366; and Jacob A. Riis, *The Battle with the Slum* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902), 103.
76. E. Clowes Chorley, *The Centennial History of Saint Bartholomew's Church in the City of New York 1835-1935* (New York: private publisher, 1935), 3; and Leonard Young, *A Short History of St. Bartholomew's Church in the City of New York 1835-1960* (New York: private publisher, 1960), 4.
77. Young, *A Short History of St. Bartholomew's Church*, 5.
78. Reverend Bruce Forbes, interview with the author, 10 May 1992, St. Bartholomew's Episcopal Church, New York City, who confirmed that choir members received a salary.
79. AJG to Ambrosio José Gonzales, Jr., 15 July 1872, GFP.
80. Ambrosio Gonzales Jr. to AJG, 28 July [1872], GFP.

81. Narciso Gonzales to AJG, 24 August 1870, GFP.
82. AJG to Ambrosio José Gonzales, Jr., 15 July 1872, GFP.
83. *Ibid.*
84. AJG to John D. Warren, 7 April 1871, John D. Warren Papers, South Caroliniana Library.
85. AJG to Ambrosio José Gonzales, Jr., 15 July 1872, GFP; and AJG to Wm. C. Bee, 25 February 1872, EGP.
86. AJG to Ambrosio José Gonzales, Jr., 15 July 1872, GFP.
87. Uncashed check No. 43 to A. J. Gonzales from Rafael Carrasco, 3 June 1871, drawn on the National City Bank, GFP.
88. AJG to Ambrosio José Gonzales, Jr., 15 July 1872, GFP.
89. AJG to Mrs. Anne H. Elliott, 29 May 1872, GFP; AJG to Wm. C. Bee, 25 February 1872, EGP; and Mary B. Elliott to Mother, 3 January 1872, *Ibid.*
90. Francis F. Beime, *St. Paul's Parish Baltimore: A Chronicle of the Mother Church* (Baltimore: The Horn-Shafer Company, 1967), 103-105.
91. *Ibid.*, 125.
92. *Ibid.*, 126.
93. In 1887 the rooming house at 87 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, became the Woman's Industrial Exchange. In 1979 the building became part of the National Register of Historic Places. Today it operates a WIE storefront outlet for handmade wares and a back dining room serves breakfast and lunch. Rooms are still rented out on the upper floors to "ladies in reduced circumstances." The author had a chance to lunch there and view the second floor quarters. For information on the building see the vertical file on the Woman's Industrial Exchange at the Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore, and "Women's Exchange is added to national historic register," *Baltimore Sun*, 1 April 1979.
94. Beime, *St. Paul's Parish Baltimore*, 128.
95. *Wood's Baltimore City Directory 1872*, 251.
96. Aunt Mamie to Ambrose E. Gonzales, 8 February [1872], EGP.
97. AEG to Mrs. Anne Elliott, 14 May 1872, GFP.
98. *Wood's Baltimore City Directory 1871*, 134.
99. *Wood's Baltimore City Directory 1872*, 175, 350, 361. Sarah A. Kummer Papers, Maryland Historical Society Library, Baltimore.
100. Mrs. Pennington Nelson, "I Remember... The Confederate Widow's School," *The Baltimore Sun*, 10 September 1950.
101. Sarah A. Kummer Papers, Maryland Historical Society Library, Baltimore.

102. Mary Johnstone to Mother, 3 January 1872, EGP.
103. Aunt Mamie to Ambrose E. Gonzales, 8 February 1872, EGP.
104. AJG to Wm. C. Bee, 25 February 1872, EGP.
105. Emmy Elliott to Ambrose E. Gonzales, 27 February [1872], EGP.
106. Wm. C. Bee to Mrs. Elliott, 29 February 1872, EGP.
107. W. C. Bee to AJG, 6 March 1872, EGP.
108. "Social Hall," GFP.
109. AJG to Mrs. Anne H. Elliott, 29 May 1872, GFP.
110. AJG to Hammerick, 15 June 1872, EGP.
111. Ambrosio Gonzales, Jr. to AJG, 28 July [1872], GFP.
112. AJG to Ambrosio José Gonzales, Jr., 28 August 1872, EGP; and A. G. Menocal to AJG, 8 August 1886, GFP.
113. "Aniceto Garcia Menocal," *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, XIV, 354; and Portell Vilá, *Vidas de la Unidad Americana*, 179-191.
114. AJG to Ambrosio José Gonzales, Jr., 28 August 1872, EGP.
115. *Ibid.*
116. John F. Trow, *Trow's New York City Directory, for the year ending May 1, 1875* (New York: The Trow City Directory Company, 1875), 488.
117. AJG to Ulysses S. Grant, 8 January 1876, Letters of Application and Recommendation during the Administration of Ulysses S. Grant 1869-1877, M968, Roll 23, Frames 283-286, R.G. 59, National Archive.
118. Narciso G. Gonzales to AJG, 23 March 1879, GFP.
119. Narciso G. Gonzales to AJG, 13 September 1881, GFP.
120. Ambrosio Gonzales to Irene Espinosa, 13 April 1882, GFP.
121. Jones, *Stormy Petrel*, 56.
122. Ambrosio José Gonzales address book in GFP.
123. *Ibid.*
124. Jones, *Stormy Petrel*, 56.
125. Petition, 28 May 1884, GFP.

126. AJG to Ignacio Gonzales Gauffreau, 17 November 1884, GFP.
127. AJG to William Porcher Miles, 23 May 1885, William Porcher Miles Papers, SHC; and "William Porcher Miles," *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XI, 35.
128. AJG to William Porcher Miles, William Porcher Miles Papers, SHC.
129. Ambrose E. Gonzales to Gertrude Gonzales, 27 April 1885, GFP.
130. R.G. 59, Letters of Application and Recommendation During the Administrations of Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan, 1853-1861, M967, Roll 19, Frames 467-470.
131. AJG to Daniel S. Lamont, 24 January 1886, Grover Cleveland Presidential Papers, Series 2, Reel 29, LC.
132. AJG to Presidential Secretary D. S. Lamont, 24 January 1886, *Ibid.*
133. D. S. Lamont to AJG, 15 May 1886, GFP.
134. Mrs. William H. Boyd, *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia, 1888* (Washington, D.C.: Wm. Ballantyne & Son, 1887), 427; and Ambrosio Gonzales, Jr. to AJG, 1 May 1887, GFP.
135. A. J. Gonzales, *Heaven Revealed: A Series of Authentic Spirit-Messages From a Wife to Her Husband, Proving the Sublime Nature of True Spiritualism* (Washington, D.C.: McQueen & Wallace, Printers, 1889).
136. These spirit messages are in the Gonzales Family Papers, South Caroliniana Library.
137. United States Senate, *International American Conference: Reports of Committees and Discussions Thereon, Vol. I* Executive Document 232, Part 1, 51st Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890), 53.
138. Secretariat of Foreign Relations of the Republic of Guatemala to Gonzales, 21 September 1889, GFP; and William H. Boyd, *Boyd's City Directory of the District of Columbia* (Washington, D.C.: Wm. Ballantyne & Son, 1889).
139. AJG to José Ignacio Rodríguez, 10 February 1891. Jose Ignacio Rodriguez Papers, LC.
140. Jones, *Stormy Petrel*, 179.
141. Juan Arnao Alfonso (1812-1901) was a writer and poet born in Matanzas, who participated in the Narciso López conspiracy of 1848. He landed in Cuba on 4 October 1869 with the expedition led by Domingo de Goicuria and became an insurrectional leader in Matanzas. Arnao returned to the United States after the 1878 Cuban rebel peace treaty. He was a founder of the Cuban Revolutionary Party headed by José Martí. His brother Ramón Ignacio Arnao Alfonso landed in Cuba with the 1851 López expedition, was captured and imprisoned in Spain, and later joined William Walker in Nicaragua.
142. Manuel R. Moreno to Gonzales, 14 May 1892, GFP.
143. Gonzalo de Quesada, "Ambrosio José Gonzalez," *Patria*, 31 December 1892, 3.
144. AJG to Ambrose E. Gonzales, 17 September 1892, GFP.
145. AJG to Ambrosio Gonzales, Jr., 23 September 1892, GFP.

146. The Home for Incurables in the Bronx has been erroneously identified as the "Fordham Hospital on Long Island" in Jones, *Stormy Petrel*, 180.
147. Home for Incurables, *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report* (New York: Eugen D. Croker, Stationer and Printer, 1892).
148. Quesada, "Ambrosio José Gonzalez," 3.
149. Ambrosio Gonzales, Jr. to AJG, 14 February 1893, GFP.
150. Ambrosio Gonzales, Jr., to AJG, 17 April 1893, GFP; and Ambrosio Gonzales, Jr., to AJG, 17 April 1893, *Ibid*.
151. Ambrosio Gonzales Jr. to AJG, 1 May 1893, GFP.
152. Ambrosio Gonzales Jr. to AJG, 6 July 1893, GFP.
153. Municipal Archives, City of New York, Certificate and Record of Death No. 28502, Ambrosio J. Gonzales, 31 July 1893. The date of death has been mistaken for the day of burial in Jones, *Stormy Petrel*, 180.
154. Woodlawn Cemetery, Bronx, New York, Register of Interment No. 43587, Folio 655, 2 August 1893, Lot No. A, Range 131, Grave 20.
155. "Ambrosio Jose Gonzales: Death of a Cuban and Confederate patriot," *The State*, 2 August 1893, 1.
156. *Ibid*.
157. "Ambrosio Jose Gonzalez," *Patria*, 5 August 1893, 2.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

This biography of Ambrosio José Gonzales has provided previously unknown details of his life to augment what has been written on the Cuban filibuster movement, the American Civil War, Reconstruction in the South, and Cuban immigrants in the United States. The analysis of the filibuster era contains new information on the major figures who interacted with Gonzales. The appendix containing the names of 181 Cárdenas expeditionaries is the largest list compiled to date. This dissertation has also contributed to a growing field of study dealing with the relationship between sectionalism and diplomacy. I have shown how United States isolationist policy toward Cuba that started in the early nineteenth century did not change in favor of actively pursuing the island's annexation, despite of massive American westward expansion.

A policy of Cuban non-intervention was established by the Monroe Doctrine, which recognized European colonies existing since 1823, and was to last for seventy-five years. Repeated requests for annexation to the United States by Cuban revolutionaries were ignored by all administrations, whether Whig or Democrat. The Whigs shunned Cuban expansionism because it would incorporate a large slave population into the United States. The Democrats, on the other hand, generally favored annexation, but officially pursued it only through purchase proposals.

The Polk Administration, which made the first offer, was unable to acquire the island because they failed to take into account Spanish pride and recalcitrance in selling one of their last and their most economically productive colonies. During his lifetime, Gonzales repeatedly warned that Cuba could achieve independence only through armed revolution due to this Spanish attitude, which stiffened year after year. In trying to ingratiate Spain to sell Cuba, the Polk

Administration betrayed the López insurrection of June 1848 and frustrated all possibilities of a Worth expedition.

The first López internal uprising was better planned than his subsequent ones, and held greater appeal for the Creoles, since it lacked the massive foreign and mostly rowdy element employed in later enterprises. We can only speculate whether, if independence had been achieved in 1848, the Cuban people would have chosen the Texas model for annexation or López would have turned the island into his own *caudillo* fiefdom, as was the situation in other Latin American countries. López was impulsive and never learned from his mistakes. He had failed at Cárdenas largely because of the inexperienced and undisciplined recruits quickly swept up from the streets of New Orleans. Still, during his last expedition to Cuba, López hastily departed with a similar contingent, without awaiting the arrival of the elite Kentucky regiment. His haste was due to a great desire to land in Cuba before the internal uprising triumphed, so that he could share in the military glory and power. As a result, at the last moment, López abandoned Gonzales and those waiting in Jacksonville with weapons and artillery. This recklessness apparently kept Quitman distanced from López after the Cárdenas fiasco.

This dissertation has shown that President Pierce, in spite of favoring expansionism in his inaugural address, applied the same non-intervention policy toward Cuba as that of his Whig predecessors. The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 was a motivating factor for General Quitman to give a sense of urgency to the Cuban invasion plans, but it also prompted the Pierce Administration to suppress the annexation movement to avoid intensifying the sectional issue. I have also established that the growing national polarization over slavery is what drove slave traders to support the filibuster movement.

Previous biographies of Pierce and Quitman have not clarified what occurred at the White House meeting which finally convinced Quitman to abandon his expedition, or the connection between the two Americans and Cuban conspirator Ramón Pintó. This work has demonstrated that Pintó was communicating with the State Department under the alias Juan Martínez, and that he was the main Quitman contact in the island. The arrest of Pintó and subsequent dismantling of the internal insurrectional support network, when apparently told to Quitman by the Spanish Minister at the White House meeting, is what probably dissuaded Quitman from his invasion plans. Pierce biographer Roy Nichols had erroneously concluded that Quitman backed out when shown "the plans of Cuban fortifications," but documents I cited from the Quitman Papers in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History prove that since the previous year, Quitman was aware of Spanish army strength on the island through the military hospital records and other information he was receiving from Havana.

This work has also verified that the Spanish diplomatic espionage network in the United States assiduously shadowed Gonzales and other filibuster leaders, and at times knew more about their plans than even the United States government. This undercover work was wholly responsible for frustrating the *Cleopatra* expedition in 1851, and eventually neutralized the entire filibuster movement.

I have also confirmed that freemasons constituted a high percentage of the filibuster leadership, such as López, Gonzales, Quitman, Henderson, Wheat, Titus and Lama. The fraternity produced the initial introduction to the movement, stimulated the entry of many in the rank and file, and provided protection from federal authorities trying to suppress their activities.

This dissertation has provided important details on the career of Gonzales as a

Confederate officer, which I hope will receive further historical recognition. As chief of artillery headquartered in Charleston, Gonzales zealously contributed to the defense of that city against massive Union attacks throughout the war. His "siege train" invention, his idea of successfully fortifying Battery Wagner with land mines and double-barrelled shotguns, his defense activities on James Island, his role as artillery commander at the battle of Honey Hill, and the endorsements of his superior officers, merited advancement to brigadier general. It was never granted because of a flaw in the Confederate president's character, which I have substantiated by citing the historiography dealing with this defect.

After the war, tragedy, bad luck and irony followed Gonzales for the rest of his life. His business in Charleston was apparently destroyed by rioters, his friend Beauregard turned his back on him, and when the future began to look bright after moving to Cuba, his wife died of yellow fever. Part of his problems were due to his optimistic nature, which made him a bad judge of character. As a result, he got stuck with worthless checks and spiritualists took advantage of him. Gonzales spent years trying to obtain a diplomatic post from the Pierce, Buchanan and Cleveland Administrations. This same determination is what kept him applying for promotion while a Confederate colonel, persisting when others under similar circumstances had given up.

Gonzales was also unable to avoid unintentionally arousing bitter animosity from people with whom he was close, such as Jefferson Davis and Emily Elliott. The personal quarrel with Jefferson Davis annulled his opportunity to become brigadier general. The reasons for the Elliott feud are still unclear. What is evident is that the vicious campaign was spearheaded by Emily, who had been in love with Gonzales, and who attacked his weakest point, by turning his children against him. When the children matured, they eventually identified with their father and his

Cuban cause.

Gonzales would have been proud to see three of his sons, Ambrosio, Narciso, and William, lay aside their work in *The State* to fight for Cuban liberty. Narciso enlisted under Cuban General Máximo Gómez and an account of his combat experiences was later published in the book *In Darkest Cuba*. Ambrose was a major in the United States army of occupation, stationed at Santiago. William became a captain in the Second South Carolina volunteer regiment, and disembarked on the island with the army corps of General Fitzhugh Lee. In 1913, William was appointed Minister to Cuba by the Woodrow Wilson Administration.¹ The youngest daughter, Ana Rosa Gonzales, would later regret that she had been denied her Cuban heritage by the Elliotts. Born in Cuba in 1869, the negative influence of the Elliotts, who renamed her Harriett Rutledge Elliott Gonzales, kept her estranged from her father. She still retained her Cuban citizenship in 1940 when she traveled to Havana with a group of journalists from South Carolina. During a luncheon given by the Havana Chamber of Commerce, one of the Carolinians told the audience that she was the daughter of Ambrosio José Gonzales, and "Immediately the entire assemblage arose and cheered, showing that though nearly a century had passed, her father's patriotic services were still remembered, and still much appreciated. Miss Gonzales was naturally very touched by the demonstration; in fact so much that, retiring as was her nature, she agreed to go on the radio that night and say a few words to the Cuban people."² The Cuban citizens also gave Miss Gonzales a large Cuban flag, which she proudly displayed on the wall of the rear sun room at Oak Lawn. Her nephew, Doctor Ambrose Gonzales Hampton, recalled that this spirited lady rode on horseback around the plantation until the age of seventy. In 1949, Doctor Hampton took his fiancée, Ann Fripp Jones, to Oak Lawn. When Ann asked Miss

Gonzales by what name she should address her, the octogenarian thought for a moment and replied, "Aunt Gonzie," even though the rest of the family called her Aunt Hattie. She told the couple that she favored the name Anita Rosita and deplored that it had been changed.

Gonzales did not live to see his dream of a lifetime fulfilled, the overthrow by revolution of Spanish colonialism in Cuba. This was accomplished five years after he died, by another group of masonic conspirators headed by José Martí, Antonio Maceo, Máximo Gómez, and others. Although his physical ailments did not allow Gonzales to participate in the last revolutionary movement, Martí praised him in *Patria* as a brave example for future generations of Cubans to emulate.

NOTES

1. Snowden, *History of South Carolina*, II, 1044.
2. S. A. Latimer, Jr., "From Across the Editor's Desk," *The State*, 25 January 1959.

APPENDIX A

181 Participants in the 1850 Cárdenas Expedition.

Allen, John	Gallup, David W.
Armstrong, Thomas M.	Galway, Patrick
Bannon, James	Garnett, James J.
Barton, W. H.	Gibbs, John
Bates,	Gonzales, Ambrosio José
Bell, William H.	Gowan, James M.
Benson, Rufus	Grafton, Joseph
Blackstone, John H.	Greenlee,
Bradford,	Hale,
Breckenridge, N. C.	Hale, Thomas G.
Brown, Levi	Hall,
Brown, William	Hardy, Richardson
Bunch, William J.	Hardy, William
Burke, W. J.	Hardy, William L.
Byrd, Theodore P.	Harkins, J.
Bymes, Joseph	Hamley, William
Capers, W. C.	Harris, R. A.
Carter, John L.	Hawkins, Thomas Theodore
Coalson, Allen P.	Hayden, George B.
Coalson, John M.	Henning, H. E.
Colin,	Henry,
Cranin, John	Hernández Canalejos, José Manuel
Crittenden, William Logan	Higgins, John
Cruse, Henry	Hogg, Joel D.
Davis, Edward R.	Holland, William Tucker
Davis, J. C.	Horton, C. O.
Dear,	Hovenstrow, Stephen
Dennet, J. H.	Howard, J. C.
Duncan,	Hoy, Thomas P.
Dupeau,	Hunton, T. G.
Elliott,	Hurd,
Estelle, John	Huston,
Fayssoux, Callender Irvine	Irish, J.
Finch, John H.	James,
Fisher, T. F.	Johnson, Albert W.
Fixton,	Johnston, John Carl
Foley, James	Jones, E. L.
Folger, James	Josephs, A. A.
Foster, H. C.	Keating,
Francisco, Antonio	Kelly, William

Kennedy, Thomas J.
 Kewen, Achilles L.
 Kewen, Thomas
 Knight,
 Knott, C.
 Lake, William S.
 Lane, E. D.
 Lawton, Thomas
 Leathers, James
 Lewis,
 Lewis, Armstrong Irvine
 Logan, John A.
 López Oriola, Narciso
 Macías Sardina, Juan Manuel
 March, Thomas
 Marriot,
 Marsh, A. W.
 Martin, James M.
 Mathews, Charles B.
 Mayfield,
 McCann, John McFarland
 McCormeck, J. J.
 McDaniel, J. M.
 McDerman, J.
 McDonald,
 McFarland,
 McGregor,
 McGuffin,
 McGuire, Arthur
 McHenry, J. D. R.
 McIntosh, William S.
 McLawrin, L.
 McOunegie,
 Miller, Alexander
 Mitchell,
 Mizell, A.
 Moore, Archibald B.
 Moore, John
 Morgan, M. J.
 Morris,
 Murry,
 O'Conner, Philip
 O'Donnell, James
 O'Hara, Theodore

Paris, Charles N.
 Parish,
 Parker,
 Peabody, H.
 Pendleton, Simeon
 Penton, William
 Perkins, J. C.
 Pickett, John T.
 Quin, John
 Rawlings, C. H.
 Reading, John
 Redding, William
 Reed, James
 Reed, John
 Reed, Joseph
 Reinhart, Philip
 Robinson, H. H.
 Sánchez Iznaga, José María
 Sartin, G. F.
 Sayre,
 Scott, R.
 Scott, Samuel
 Sexias,
 Smith, David Flinger
 Smith, Edward
 Smith, Henry L.
 Smith, Joseph
 Smith, Peter
 Smith, William B.
 Snelly, Alexander M.
 Steede, Abner C.
 Stevens, Henry
 Stoval,
 Stull,
 Tapley, James
 Taylor, Marion C.
 Thixton,
 Thomas, L. C.
 Titus, Henry Theodore
 Triplett, R.
 Vernon, E.
 Warner, George
 Welsh, Finny S.
 Wheat, Chatham Roberdeau

Wheeling, Robert
Williams, W.
Williamson,
Wilson, F. C.
Wilson, John
Winter, John W.
Woodruff,
Woolfolk,
Work, Thomas
Wragg, Thomas
Zomes, A. J.

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John A. Quitman.
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- Savannah Public Library, Savannah, Georgia.
Wilmington Island Collection.
- Smithsonian Institution, Museum of American History, Washington, D.C.
Maynard Arms Company Collection.
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Colleton County Auditor's Tax Return 1868.
John Jenkins.
Rolls of South Carolina Staff and Confederate Officers.
- South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard.
Ambrosio Jose Gonzales.
Gonzales Family (on deposit).
Allan Macfarlan.
John D. Warren.
- Texas State Library.
Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar.
- Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.
Jefferson Davis.
Callender Faissoux Collection.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Southern Historical Collection.

Elliott-Gonzales Family.

William Porcher Miles.

John C. Pemberton.

John Thomas Wheat.

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ABSTRACT

DE LA COVA, ANTONIO RAFAEL

AMBROSIO JOSE GONZALES: A CUBAN CONFEDERATE COLONEL.

WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY, Ph.D., 1994, HISTORY.

Ambrosio José Gonzales gained immortality in 1850 when he became the first Cuban wounded in combat for the liberty of Cuba. He was one of the prominent leaders of the Cuba filibuster movement of 1848-1855 that disrupted United States relations with Spain. An early volunteer of the Confederate cause, in 1862 he was appointed Confederate chief of artillery for the Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, a position he held until 1865. Analysis of his post Civil War career shed light on Southern response to Reconstruction and the vicissitudes of a Cuban expatriate in the United States during the late nineteenth century.

Gonzales, who was born in Matanzas, Cuba, in 1818, at the age of ten was sent to school in New York City, where he made friends with classmate Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard. Gonzales became imbued with the Democratic ideals of the Jacksonian era before returning to Cuba, where he received a law degree from the University of Havana and became a freemason. The corruption of Spain's colonial judicial system prompted him to forsake on principle a lucrative career for that of a college teacher.

In 1848, Gonzales joined the Havana Club conspiracy planning to follow the Texas model to annex Cuba to the United States. While some plotters were motivated by the civil liberties guarantees in the American Constitution, others wanted the same constitutional assurances for their slave property. The political controversy in the United States created by the Wilmot Proviso over the expansion of slave territory derailed Cuban annexation plans.

Gonzales went to the United States in 1848, where as second-in-command to General Narciso López, he was a leading organizer of what became known as the 1849 Round Island expedition, the 1850 Cárdenas invasion, and the 1851 *Cleopatra* and *Pampero* expeditions, to liberate Cuba. Gonzales was also a main participant in the failed 1855 John A. Quitman filibuster enterprise. The United States government, in strict compliance with the 1818 Neutrality Law, opposed these activities, assisted by the Spanish diplomatic espionage network.

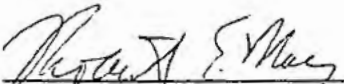
The Cuban annexation movement played an important role in the causation of the American Civil War. Since Cuba was an agricultural slave society, its acquisition was spurned by the North and coveted by the South. Northerners considered the filibusters part of a slave power conspiracy to expand their dominions into the Caribbean Basin, and Southerners responded to this opposition in Congress with increasing demands for secession. These intrigues prompted Gonzales to write a manifesto on Cuban annexation to the United States and brought him into close contact with influential Southern politicians, including Jefferson Davis, John C. Calhoun, John Quitman, Mirabeau Lamar, Pierre Soulé, John Slidell, James Chesnut, Jr., Louis T. Wigfall, Francis Pickens, James H. Hammond, Stephen Mallory, Robert Toombs and John Henderson.

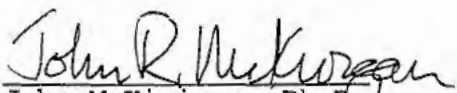
Gonzales married into an aristocratic South Carolina family in 1856, and his sense of duty and obligation to his adopted state motivated his joining the Confederacy. He served under various generals, including Beauregard, Robert E. Lee, John Pemberton, Samuel Jones, William Hardee and Joseph E. Johnston. A personal feud with Jefferson Davis resulted in Gonzales being denied six times promotion to brigadier general. Early in the war, Gonzales invented a "siege train" flying artillery to quickly mobilize heavy guns to enemy disembarkment positions. As chief of artillery and chief of ordnance for the Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, Gonzales helped defend the city of Charleston against repeated Union encroachments, and

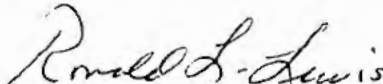
devised planting land mines in the gorge of Battery Wagner, which helped impede a now famous Union attack there spearheaded by the African-American 54th Massachusetts Regiment. In 1864, Gonzales commanded the artillery at the battle of Honey Hill, enabling 1,200 Confederates to defeat 5,000 federals.

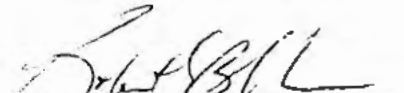
Although his postwar life was fraught with bad luck and tragedy, consideration of his earlier actions and motivations help provide a better understanding of a turbulent period in Cuban and American history.

APPROVAL OF EXAMINING COMMITTEE

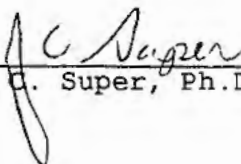

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